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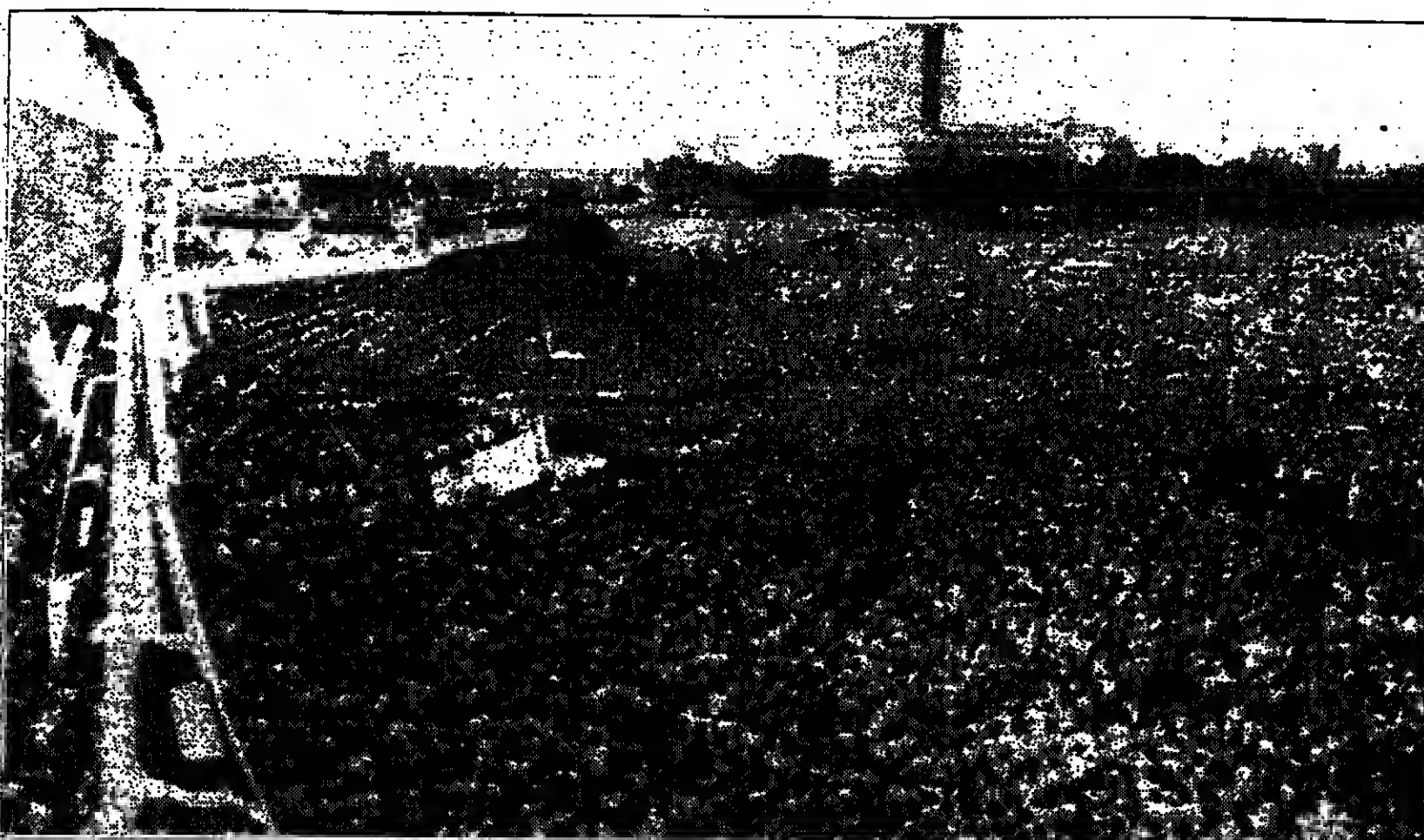
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At least 450,000 people filled a Manila park Tuesday to mark the first anniversary of the assassination of Benigno S. Aquino Jr.

Anti-Marcos Throng Ties Up Manila to Recall Aquino Slaying

By William Branigan
 Washington Post Service

MANILA — Huge anti-government demonstrations brought much of Manila to a standstill Tuesday as Filipinos marked the first anniversary of the assassination of the opposition leader Benigno S. Aquino Jr.

The marches and rallies in the capital were largely peaceful, although youths burned tires in some streets after dark and truncheon-wielding security forces guarding the presidential palace chased away small groups of taunting protesters.

The demonstrations against the government of President Ferdinand E. Marcos were the largest since the popular opposition leader's funeral. But estimates of the crowd that converged at the main rally site, in Rizal Park by Manila Bay, varied widely. Brigadier General Narciso Cabrera, the district's police chief, put the number at 450,000.

Although the main rally fell short of the opposition's target of at least one million people, Tuesday's demonstrations did succeed in making the anniversary of Mr. Aquino's still unsolved death an unofficial holiday.

Many shops and businesses were closed, schools called off classes for the day and usually busy streets were nearly deserted as Filipinos largely ignored government state-

ments reminding them that Tuesday was a normal work day.

The protests included the unveiling of a bronze statue of Mr. Aquino sent by Philippine opposition groups in the United States. Mr. Marcos ordered customs officials at Manila International Airport to release the statue after the Aquino family refused to pay about \$3,900 in duties.

"After one year, the issue of Aquino's assassination is still alive," said Agapito Aquino, the slain leader's younger brother, "and everybody is still demanding justice."

Mr. Aquino was shot just after arriving at the airport on his return from three years of self-imposed

exile in the United States. The government says the assassin was a Communist agent, Rolando Galmán, who was shot to death at the scene. The opposition, two independent lawyers' groups and many other Filipinos contend that Mr. Aquino was the victim of a military plot.

To dramatize that point, the accused killer's 11-year-old son, Reynaldo Galmán, joined Tuesday's demonstrations dressed as his father was on the day of the assassination and carrying a sign reading "Fall guy."

The demonstrations also were an occasion for Mr. Marcos's political opposition to make a show of unity and renew a call for his resignation.

"We have asked Marcos for one year to resign, but he doesn't listen," said Corazón Aquino, the widow of the assassinated former senator. She appealed to Mr. Marcos to join her in prayer at Tuesday's demonstration. "If you don't want to listen to us, maybe you will listen to God," she said.

"The people want to tell Marcos he is through as leader of this country, that he is there not because of the will of the people but through military force," said Aquilino Pimentel, a newly elected opposition member of parliament.

As he spoke, the president's Malacanang Palace was ringed with riot police backed by army, marine and air force troops.

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Republicans Kick Off By Attacking Mondale

By Jack Nelson
 Los Angeles Times Service

DALLAS — Hoping to convert President Ronald Reagan's strength into new opportunities for their candidates everywhere, Republicans opened their 1984 convention here with attacks on the Democratic presidential nominee, Walter F. Mondale, and special appeals to women and disaffected Democrats.

The 2,235 delegates, assembled Monday in the Dallas Convention Center, cheered as the Senate majority leader, Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, and other speakers assailed Mr. Mondale as a captive of special interests and portrayed him as a loser who represents a failed past.

Mr. Baker, referring to Mr. Mondale's service as vice president in the Carter administration, said:

"The only thing 'fair' about the economic programs the Democrats gave us during the Carter-Mondale years was that they made everybody miserable."

"That's not just partisan Republican opinion," she added. "It is an opinion shared by millions of mainstream Democrats who voted for President Reagan in 1980 and are going to vote for him again in 1984. Mainstream Democrats, who this year supported presidential candidates like John Glenn, Reubin Askew and Ernest Hollings, but who find they have been shut out of their traditional party home by the narrow interest groups in charge of last month's Democratic convention."

"Let Mr. Mondale look about," she continued. "He might see one Democratic Party — but in fact there are two Democratic parties in America this year."

Ms. Ortega said that the two were "the party of special interests" that met in San Francisco and "Democrats of the mainstream — Democrats who, in the tradition of Harry Truman and John F. Kennedy, recognize the danger that communism poses to the hemisphere and the world."

The Republicans used the opening session as a showcase for women officials, with Ms. Ortega, Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, the chief U.S. delegate to the United Nations; Margaret M. Heckler, secretary of Health and Human Services, delivering major talks on foreign affairs and domestic issues.

All three were assigned evening slots in the schedule to assure that

they would appear during prime-time television coverage.

Republican officials candidly say they are emphasizing women officials at the convention in response to Mr. Mondale's selection of Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro as his running mate. And they are actively courting Democrats that they feel may be ready to abandon a party divided by competing interests.

"The Democratic Party, as evidenced in San Francisco, has left the basic values that party had had," said Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada, chairman of the Reagan campaign. "It's become a conglomerate of interests, and that's going to be our basic pitch."

The Republican Party chairman, Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr., who spoke after calling the convention to order Monday morning, asserted that Mr. Mondale's labor support consists of "labor bosses strung out on political handouts; they aren't hard-working union men and women."

Other Mondale supporters, he said, "dump on our closest allies, and without so much as a word from Mr. Mondale, they call it statesmanship. Still others threatened to walk out of that convention unless Mr. Mondale embraced their radical demands."

"Mix them together, and what do you have? An orgy of pressure groups in search of a party," Mr. Fahrenkopf said. "They would be laughable if they weren't so dangerous. America could dismiss them if

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TOMORROW

President Ronald Reagan has achieved some of his economic goals, but many in the United States have failed to benefit. A detailed survey of his social and economic policies.

30 Killed as Moslems Fight in Northern Lebanon

By John Kifner
 New York Times Service

BEIRUT — Thirty persons were reported killed after fighting broke out in Tripoli early Tuesday and continued through the day between Sunni Moslem fundamentalists and a Syrian-backed militia.

By nightfall, both leftist and rightist radios in Beirut were reporting similar casualty figures. They said most were civilians, and added that 125 were wounded.

The fighting has flared up sporadically in the northern port, Lebanon's second largest city, 42 miles (68 kilometers) north of Beirut, since the beginning of the year. The

death toll is estimated to have reached 450.

The fighting pits a Sunni Moslem fundamentalist militia called Tawheed, or Islamic Togetherness, which has established control over most of the city, against the Arab Democratic Party militia created by Syria, whose name translates roughly as "Arab Cavaliers."

The renewed fighting appeared to be related to Syrian efforts to extend the cease-fire they are brokering, which now has a tenuous hold in the capital, to the rest of the country.

A Syrian emissary, Brigadier General Mohammed Kholi, met

with President Amin Gemayel Lebanon and Prime Minister Rashid Karami on Monday to deliver the message that President Hafez al-Assad of Syria wants a stop to the fighting in the Chuf mountains southeast of the capital so that the Lebanese Army can be deployed as a second stage of the peace plan.

Walid Jumblatt, a Druze leader whose militiamen hold positions in the mountains and are refusing to let the army in, and a Shiite Moslem leader, Nabih Berri, who has also raised objections to the plan, went to Damascus overnight for consultations.

Both men are ministers in the national unity government, which contains many of the country's leading warlords.

Tawheed, led by Emir Saad Shabaan, has imposed its version of Islamic law over much of the city, instituting flogging for drunkenness and other punishments.

The Tawheed fighters were allied with the Fatah guerrillas of Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Liberation Organization when Syrian-backed rebels forced the PLO chairman out of the Tripoli area last winter. Mr. Arafat is believed to have left them a considerable supply of weapons.

One source of tension is that Mr. Assad's Syrian regime is centered on a clique of Alawites, a minority sect in that country. Orthodox Sunni Moslems regard the Alawites as

heretical because, among other things, they celebrate Christmas.

Alawites also make up a part of the population of Tripoli, although they are now largely confined to a small quarter of the city.

In addition to controlling most of the streets, the fundamentalist Tawheed has taken control of the city's pier, establishing an illegal port that is believed to net them about 500,000 Lebanese pounds (more than \$80,000) a month and to provide an entry point for weapons.

The fighting Tuesday was largely between the Bah Tahbaneh district in the Old City controlled by the Sunni group and the opposite Baal Mohsen quarter of the Alawites.

Several efforts at cease-fires negotiated by local notables fell apart.

Mr. Karami, who comes from a Tripoli family of Sunni oligarchs, has been speaking about extending the government's peace plan into the area. This would entail using a brigade of about 2,000 Lebanese Army troops stationed in Jubail to police the outskirts of the city.

But the fundamentalists have objected, arguing, among other things, that the army should close down a checkpoint on the coastal highway a little distance south at Barbars, where Christian militias exact taxes on trucks.

Right now, Mr. Rollins conceded that Mr. Reagan's weakest region was the Middle Western Farm Belt where the president campaigned Sunday. In Missouri, Mr. Reagan ran into complaints that family farms were in desperate straits because of high interest rates.

"We've got some farm problems," Mr. Rollins conceded. "A significant portion of the undecided vote — and it's surprisingly low at this stage of the campaign, 6 percent — is in the Farm Belt states." Specifically, he cited Illinois and Iowa as states that would present difficulties for the president.

But Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr., chairman of the Republican National Committee, said that private polls for Mr. Reagan's campaign showed him ahead of Mr. Mondale

Republican delegates wear a variety of hats bearing the same message: Reagan-Bush.

Reagan to Storm Democratic Bastions

Republicans Plan Major Drive in Northeast, Midwest

By Hedrick Smith
 New York Times Service

DALLAS — President Ronald Reagan's strategists are preparing to challenge Walter F. Mondale in Democratic strongholds in the Northeast and Middle West.

They are increasingly confident of Mr. Reagan's political base in the South and West and convinced that Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro of New York, Mr. Mondale's vice-presidential running mate, remains on the defensive.

"Where we feel better than before is that we now have a Southern and Western base, and that means we can go contest Mondale in the Northeast," said Ed Rollins, the president's campaign director, on Monday.

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that Mr. Reagan's weakest region was the Middle Western Farm Belt where the president campaigned Sunday. In Missouri, Mr. Reagan ran into complaints that family farms were in desperate straits because of high interest rates.

"We've got some farm problems," Mr. Rollins conceded. "A significant portion of the undecided vote — and it's surprisingly low at this stage of the campaign, 6 percent — is in the Farm Belt states." Specifically, he cited Illinois and Iowa as states that would present difficulties for the president.

But Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr., chairman of the Republican National Committee, said that private polls for Mr. Reagan's campaign showed him ahead of Mr. Mondale

by 13 percentage points nationwide and by more than 20 points in the South and West. Other Reagan strategists contend that Mr. Mondale has made a tactical mistake by targeting California and stumping recently in the South before securing his base in the Northeast and Middle West.

"If he wants to run a California strategy, let him," Mr. Rollins said. "Where we're going to be in his turf."

He alluded confidently to Mr. Reagan's sweep of California in two gubernatorial campaigns and the Democrats' failure to carry the state for a presidential candidate since 1964.

In the past, the Northeast has been difficult terrain for Republicans. It has been the heartland of

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)



Gerd Heidemann, far left, who is accused of passing off the Hitler diaries, and Konrad Kujau, far right, who is accused of forging them. Their lawyers are with them.

Hitler Diaries Trial Opens and Adjourns

Reuters

HAMBURG — The trial of two men accused of conspiring to create the forged diaries of Adolf Hitler opened Tuesday, but was adjourned for one week after less than an hour's proceedings.

The presiding judge, Hans-Ulrich Schroeder, abruptly announced that the court would recess until Aug. 28 while the six judges examined a defense contention that they were not qualified to give one of the defendants, Gerd Heidemann, a fair trial because of publicity in the case.

Mr. Heidemann's lawyer, Reinhard Daum, said the three professional judges and three lay magistrates could not conduct a fair trial because television and magazine interviews given by another defendant, Konrad Kujau, implied that Mr. Heidemann was the main culprit in the hoax.

Mr. Heidemann, 52, a journalist, is accused of passing off the

diaries as genuine and selling them to Stern magazine for more than nine million Deutsche marks (about \$3.1 million).

Mr. Kujau, 45, an antique dealer, is accused of forging 62 volumes of the diaries over two years.

Another defendant, who was not in the dock on the first day, is Edith Liebling, 43, who is charged with receiving some of the money paid to Mr. Kujau to invest in real estate while knowing the diaries were fakes.

Prosecutors say Mr. Kujau received almost 1.6 million DM for his work, while Mr. Heidemann, formerly Stern magazine's top reporter, received at least 1.7 million DM. The whereabouts of the other 6 million DM is not known.

The trial opened in confusion with Mr. Kujau giving impromptu interviews to the press and cracking jokes from the dock during recesses.

Almost all of the more than

100 people crammed into the small courtroom of Hamburg's state civil court were from the press.

An initial demand by Mr. Daum that all the judges should declare how much pretrial material they had read was rejected by the presiding judge.

His second appeal, which prompted the adjournment, alleged that the court was too prejudiced to conduct the trial. Mr. Daum said Mr. Heidemann had been found guilty by the press.

If found guilty, Mr. Heidemann and Mr. Kujau face up to 10 years' jail, depending on the degree of fraud determined by the court.

Excerpts from the forged diaries were published by Stern magazine in West Germany and The Sunday Times in London in April 1983. Mr. Heidemann claimed to have tracked down a man in East Germany who had salvaged the diaries from the wreck of a crashed plane.

Ferraro Says Disclosure Should Dispel Suspicion

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro, the Democratic candidate for vice president, said Tuesday that the financial statements she and her husband have released should dispel any notion that the couple "had something to hide," when "obviously we don't."

Ms. Ferraro said at a news conference she was convinced that as a member of Congress she had correctly claimed an exemption from disclosure for financial information relating to her husband, John A. Zaccaro.

"At no time did I violate any trust," she said.

Ms. Ferraro said she would transfer her interest in P. Zaccaro Co., a realty management firm, to her husband or elder daughter, Donna, and would give up her position as an officer of the company.

With the Republicans holding



Despite the microphones, the sound system failed at Geraldine Ferraro's news conference.

The Ferraro-Zaccaro financial disclosure has still left unresolved questions. Page 2.

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With the Republicans holding

their national convention in Dallas, Ms. Ferraro dismissed as "wishful thinking" any thoughts the political opposition might have of her being forced off the Democratic ticket.

Ms. Ferraro said that to pay \$53,459 in back taxes, owed because of an accountant's mistake on the family's 1978 return, she had sold \$70,000 in bonds.

Earlier in the day, her accountants said that the family also owed about \$11,000 in state and local taxes for the mistake.

Ms. Ferraro estimated that it cost \$6,000 or \$7,000 in additional taxes for her and Mr. Zaccaro, a New York real-estate developer, to file separate returns in the six years since she entered Congress.

"What I have done since I was elected to Congress is chosen to keep our finances totally separate," Ms. Ferraro said.

Ms. Ferraro said she had openly claimed the congressional exemption for Mr. Zaccaro's finances, and that it had been known to House ethics officials for six years.

The Ethics in Government Act stipulates that a candidate must

not benefit from a spouse's assets in any way if he or she does not want to disclose them.

But Ms. Ferraro said that if the rules were carried to an extreme, a member of Congress and her spouse would have to keep "two refrigerators" and separate phones and take separate vacations to qualify for the exemption.

She said she sold property that was hers alone to raise the money

to repay 1978 campaign loans that the Federal Election Commission later ruled to be improper.

She said when she later found out her husband had repurchased the property without her knowledge, assuring her the transaction was legal, she replied, "Sure it was, but it doesn't look so hot."

■ Support From Mondale

Mr. Mondale's campaign director said Monday that voters would

conclude that Ms. Ferraro "has done nothing that violates the public trust and that she and her husband are people of integrity." The AP reported from North Oaks, Minnesota.

At a briefing for reporters, James A. Johnson said Mr. Mondale had been fully informed of the contents of Ms. Ferraro's financial reports and had no regrets about selecting her as his running mate.

Shultz Sees Freedom Someday for Eastern Bloc

By Bernard Gwertzman
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON—Secretary of State George P. Shultz, asserting that "the tide of history is with us," has expressed confidence that freedom would someday be restored to the Soviet-dominated countries of Eastern Europe.

In a speech Monday to the annual convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Chicago, Mr. Shultz echoed a theme struck Friday by President Ronald Reagan, who said that the United States would not passively accept the "permanent subjugation of the people of Eastern Europe."

On Saturday, the Soviet press agency Tass accused Mr. Reagan of challenging "the postwar political setup in Europe."

Mr. Shultz's remarks, which coincided with the opening of the Republican National Convention in Dallas, seemed to represent part of a Reagan administration effort to portray U.S. foreign policy as dynamic and the Soviet Union's as faltering in the face of American firmness.

In the speech, Mr. Shultz extolled the value of a strong military as a prerequisite for an effective diplomacy.

"As your secretary of state, I can tell you from experience that no diplomacy can succeed in an environment of fear or from a position of weakness," he said.

"We know, as surely as we know anything, that negotiations and diplomacy not backed by strength are ineffectual at best, dangerous at worst."

At the same time, he said, it was important to have patience in the conduct of foreign policy and not to expect overnight changes.

"Our policies are working," Mr. Shultz said. "Gradually, but inevitably, communist aggression is losing the contest" in Central America and in other parts of the world.

"The tide of history is with us," he declared. "The values that Americans cherish—democratic freedom, peace and the hope of prosperity—are taking root all around the world."

He said that in Europe the "solidarity of democratic nations endures" and that the bonds among the allies "are strong and secure."

"Our shared moral values and political principles have made NATO the keystone of the peace for 35 years," he said, "and will continue to do so into the next century and beyond."

In contrast, he said, the Soviet alliance was in trouble.

"If there is weakness in Europe, it is within the Soviet empire," Mr. Shultz said. "The yearning for democracy and freedom in the countries of Eastern Europe is a powerful and growing force. We have seen it in recent years among the brave people of Poland, as we saw it in Czechoslovakia in 1968, in Hungary in 1956 and East Germany in 1953."

These were references to the martial law imposed in Poland in December 1981, the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, the use of Soviet troops to suppress an uprising in Hungary in October 1956, and the putting down of demonstrations in East Berlin by Soviet tank units in June 1953.

"We will never accept the idea of a divided Europe," Mr. Shultz said. "Time is not on the side of imperial domination. We may not see freedom in Eastern Europe in our lifetime. Our children may not see it in theirs. But someday it will happen. The world's future is a future of freedom."

His comment about not accepting "a divided Europe" was consistent with Mr. Reagan's remarks Friday before a Polish-American group. But both speeches raised questions about U.S. policy toward the postwar separation of Europe between East and West.

State Department officials said Monday that the United States remains committed to the Helsinki accords of 1975 that ruled out any change by force in the postwar borders in Europe, and that the administration has no plan to embark on a "liberation" scheme in Eastern Europe.

In his speech, Mr. Shultz also dismissed election preparations in Nicaragua as "sham elections on the Soviet model." The Washington Post reported. It was the first high-level administration comment on Nicaragua's election rules since all deadlines for candidates to file papers there passed two weeks ago.

Mr. Shultz referred only in passing to current U.S. talks with the leftist Sandinista government, instead praising "the dedication of the Nicaraguan freedom fighters" who are seeking to overthrow the Nicaraguan government. They "want only to bring democracy to their people," Mr. Shultz said.

[The Reagan administration has repeatedly demanded that Nicaragua hold elections with universal participation and unmonitored media access. Nicaragua maintains that U.S.-backed rebel attacks make such conditions impossible, and the leading opposition coalition has refused to take part in the Nov. 4 election.]

Salvadoran Army Chief Urges Cut in U.S. Advisers

By Robert Block
Reuters

SAN SALVADOR—The chief of staff of the Salvadoran Army has called for a reduction in the number of U.S. military advisers in El Salvador.

"I do not want an increase of advisers, I want the number diminished," Colonel Aldo Blandon said Monday. "Do you realize this would be a first? To send advisers away, to do the opposite of what was done in Vietnam?"

Colonel Blandon said his field commanders complained they received little support from the American personnel. "Many do not do anything," he said. "They sit around the barracks and often the commanding officers do not know why they are there."

He reportedly has given a list of the U.S. advisers he considers superfluous to General Paul F. Gorman, commander of the U.S. Southern Command. There are 55 American advisers in the country but there were no details about which ones, or how many, Colonel Blandon considered expendable.

On Aug. 1, General Gorman recommended to Congress that the number of advisers be increased to 125, a suggestion that was rejected by the White House.

"I have always said the advisers were useful but not indispensable," he said.

The U.S. advisers were originally sent to El Salvador to help instruct its 40,000-man army in basic military skills and counterinsurgency tactics.

Western military sources have said that only half the 55 advisers are involved in training. The remainder reportedly perform vaguely defined administrative duties, which often

include providing the U.S. Embassy with assessments of the Salvadoran Army commanders.

Rebels Step Up Activity

Robert J. McCarthy of the Washington Post reported from San Salvador:

Leftist Salvadoran guerrillas have reportedly stepped up patrols in the past two weeks and both Salvadoran and U.S. officials said the activity appeared to signal a new offensive that could begin within a month.

The rebels launched a major offensive early last September, taking advantage of the start of the dry season when movement is easier in the hills. But several officials said the guerrillas appeared weaker now than a year ago and one source with access to military reports said that the Reagan administration apparently had exaggerated predictions of an impending guerrilla offensive to help pry military aid from Congress for the Salvadoran government.

"Their ability to stage coordinated attacks, or activity in several places at the same time, is more limited this year," said Lieutenant Colonel Domingo Monterrosa, the army commander in El Salvador's three eastern provinces, on Monday.

Colonel Monterrosa attributed the change in part to an increased Salvadoran Army presence around guerrilla strongholds in the northeastern part of the country. Other officials said the army was benefiting from data on guerrilla troop movements obtained by U.S. reconnaissance planes based in Honduras.

The colonel predicted that the guerrillas would try "in the next few weeks" to launch a major offensive. Last year the offensive consisted of attacks on army positions and tempo-

rary occupation of scores of rural towns over a four-month period.

This summer, the army has been pressuring rebel strongholds in northeastern Morazan province, leading the insurgent Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front to seek to carry the war to the west and center of the country.

Both of the rebels' largest raids this summer were in the west, and the guerrillas have waged a low-level but steady harassment campaign that has included ambushes, burning cotton trucks, blowing up electrical equipment and laying homemade mines.

Ruben Zamora, a director of the Revolutionary Democratic Front, the political arm of the five guerrilla groups fighting the Salvadoran government, said last week: "The strategy of the government is to limit our activities to the north of the country. Our intention is to extend the war toward the west, toward the rear guard of the country."

Mr. Zamora added that, "We believe that we have been on the offensive" since late June. U.S. predictions of a major autumn offensive "amuse us a little," he said.

One purpose for extending the war to the west is to improve security for a guerrilla arms supply route from Guatemala, according to U.S. officials. Some military experts contend that the Guatemala route is a principal source of arms from outside the country, although U.S. officials stressed they believed that routes from Nicaragua were more important.

Apart from the accelerated actions in the west, however, the guerrillas have generally been on the defensive this summer. The army has maintained a frequent presence in areas that previously were dominated by the guerrillas in northern San Miguel province, thus helping to isolate the rebels in neighboring Morazan.

WORLD BRIEFS

Labor's Peres Gains Ground in Israel

TEL AVIV (AP)—Shimon Peres, leader of Israel's Labor Party, won the support Tuesday of two small but influential factions.

The endorsements came from Ezer Weizman, former defense minister, and Yigal Hurvitz, former finance minister, who between them control four seats in the 120-member Knesset, or parliament.

Mr. Peres was chosen to put together the country's next government after his party narrowly defeated Yitzhak Shamir's Likud bloc in elections last month. Mr. Shamir, the caretaker prime minister, had hoped to block Mr. Peres and form his own new government with the backing of several small conservative parties.

Libyan Is Found Dead in London

LONDON (AP)—A wealthy Libyan businessman accused of conspiring to cause explosions in Britain in March was found dead in a London apartment and murdered, police said Tuesday after finding his decomposing body.

Ali el-Ghabori, who was released on bail in June despite police objections, was one of two Libyans accused of plotting three London bombings in which 26 people were injured. Police said the explosions apparently were aimed at opponents of the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Qadhafi.

Mr. el-Ghabori, 45, was found shot to death Monday in an apartment in London's Marylebone district. A spokesman for Scotland Yard said that "we do believe el-Ghabori was killed by his assassin."

UN Is Asked to Study Sakharov Case

GENEVA (AP)—The son-in-law of the dissident Soviet physicist, Andrei D. Sakharov, asked a United Nations human rights panel on Tuesday for a special inquiry into the case of the Nobel Peace Prize winner.

Speaking for the New York-based International League for Human Rights, Egon Yankovsky also asked the UN Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to request permission to visit Mr. Sakharov's wife, Yelena G. Bonner, who has reportedly been charged with anti-Soviet slander.

Mr. Yankovsky asked the subcommittee to propose a "special rapporteur" to travel to the Soviet Union to investigate reports that Mr. Sakharov is being "kept against his will" in a Gorki hospital "where he is attended by a psychiatrist and administered mind-altering drugs." Yankovsky, one of two Soviet delegates to the subcommittee, denounced the statement as "absolutely wrong and full of lies, slander and falsity."

Suárez Is Ordered to Leave Uruguay

MONTEVIDEO (AP)—The former Spanish prime minister, Adolfo Suárez, said Monday the military government had ordered him to leave Uruguay by 7 P.M. Tuesday and had accused him of violating the terms of his tourist visa.

Mr. Suárez came to Uruguay to help defend an imprisoned presidential candidate, Wilson Ferreira Aldunate. Mr. Ferreira is the National Party candidate in elections scheduled for Nov. 25 that are to return the country to civilian rule. The military has banned him from politics, and last week he asked the party to pick another candidate. But the party decided on Sunday to ask him to remain.

Meanwhile, the government released Mr. Ferreira's son, Juan, 31, on Monday after a military court judge granted a defense request that he be freed while his case is tried. The two Ferrerases were arrested June 16 on charges of subversive activities as they returned from 11 years of self-exile.

Liberia Says Professor Planned Coup

MONROVIA (Reuters)—Monrovia radio accused a detained university professor Tuesday of plotting with foreign backing to overthrow the government of Samuel K. Doe.

The radio, citing an official statement issued Monday, said Amos Sawyer, a political science professor at the University of Liberia, had planned to force Mr. Doe to resign by using a series of bomb attacks and to install a Socialist government "with the aid of foreign countries, including three African states." It did not name the nations.

Mr. Sawyer, two colonels and a student leader were arrested on Sunday. Mr. Sawyer, who chaired a committee that wrote the nation's new constitution, formed the Liberia People's Party to contest elections scheduled next year. The radio quoted Mr. Doe, who seized power in a coup in 1980, as reaffirming his commitment to constitutional rule.

Arrests Linked to South African Vote

JOHANNESBURG (AP)—South African police detained at least a 35 opposition leaders early Tuesday, the day before elections for a mixed-race chamber of Parliament, family members and opposition organizations said. Police at headquarters in Pretoria at first denied knowing of any arrests said later that an undetermined number of persons had been arrested.

Many of those detained were said to have been connected with the United Democratic Front, which opposes apartheid, or racial segregation, and is urging a boycott of the election. Opponents of apartheid note that the white chamber of the new Parliament would outnumber the mixed-race chamber and the Indian chamber together. The country's Indians will vote Aug. 29.

U.S. to Check Space Shuttle Complex

WASHINGTON (AP)—The U.S. Air Force secretary, Verne Orr, is sending an official to Vandenberg Air Force Base in California to determine whether a space-shuttle launching site under construction there is safe, a Pentagon spokesman said Tuesday.

Earlier, the NBC television network quoted air force inspectors as having said there was a 20-percent chance of an explosion "when they try to launch the shuttle." The first firing from the California site is scheduled in October 1985.

Lieutenant Colonel Michael I. Burch, the spokesman, said the air force became aware of a welding problem at the launching complex in December and started corrective action after 8,000 welds were found to be suspect.

Famine Peril in Third World Forecast

VIENNA (Reuters)—The Third World will have 453 million more mouths than it can feed by the end of the century unless it improves its farming methods, according to a United Nations study released Tuesday.

The methods recommended include improved seeds, soil conservation, the use of fertilizers and the use of chemicals against weeds, pests and plant diseases.

The report said 64 developing countries would be in a critical situation by the year 2000 unless such techniques were used. It was issued by two UN agencies and the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, a research organization.

69 Arrested in U.K. Miners' Protest

LONDON (AP)—Police made 69 arrests Tuesday as striking British coal miners fought with police protesting several miners returning to work in northern England and Scotland.

With the walkout over proposed pit closures now in its 24th week, the National Coal Board said its campaign for a return to work continued to gain momentum. Every coalfield reported at least one miner working, but the numbers were only fractionally higher this week.

The coal board chairman, Ian MacGregor, during a visit to a new pit site in northern England, urged the Conservative government and regional police authorities to take court action against the leftist miners' union leader, Arthur Scargill, over picket line violence.

For the Record

Argentina nearly doubled the minimum wage and raised salaries of all public and private employees for August by 18 percent on Monday, slightly less than July's rate of inflation. Labor leaders had sought a 25 percent increase, contending that is the projected rate of inflation for August.

Leaders of the two major U.S. postal unions, meeting at their conventions in Las Vegas, voted Monday to reject an illegal strike and, in effect, to pursue binding arbitration of the deadlocked negotiations on the contracts that cover the 600,000 unionized postal workers.

President Roberto Somoza Chordora of Honduras announced Monday that he had replaced six of his 14 cabinet ministers as part of a shake-up intended to counter accusations that his government was doing little to solve the nation's economic problems.

Correction

The dollar-equivalent figure for the British pound was incorrect in some editions Tuesday because of an error by The Associated Press-Dow Jones News Service. The correct figure was \$1.3170 to the pound.

Ferraro-Zaccaro Financial Disclosure Leaves Some Questions Unresolved

By Jeff Gerth
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON—The mass of financial records released by Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro and her husband answered many questions about the handling of their finances but also raised some new ones.

The records confirmed earlier reports that the Democratic nominee for vice president and her husband, John A. Zaccaro, had underpaid their 1978 income taxes because of an error for which they blamed their accountant. The accountant agreed in an interview that he had been responsible.

Monday's disclosures included tax documents and a required financial statement for the last year filed with the Federal Election Commission. Ms. Ferraro and her husband said they hoped the information would put to rest questions about the couple's finances that have plagued the campaign and formed the basis of attacks by some Republican leaders.

Although Mr. Zaccaro, a New York real-estate developer, released his individual tax returns, he did not release other returns he has filed with the Internal Revenue Service, such as partnership returns and returns for his real-estate business. Tax experts said that those documents would give a more accurate picture of his total income.

In addition, Monday's disclosures still leave unresolved some questions about the adequacy of Ms. Ferraro's earlier congressional disclosures, the financing of her 1978 campaign and the financial ties between the couple.

Ms. Ferraro reported on her tax returns that she received income from one of her husband's companies that she owned stock in, but she failed to report that income on her congressional disclosure statements.

For the years of 1979 through 1983, she declined to disclose her husband's finances in the statements, citing a narrow exemption in House rules that can be used if the member of Congress receives no benefit from his or her spouse.

In 1981, the couple reported on their tax returns receiving almost \$9,000 from the P. Zaccaro Co., a real-estate management company headed by Mr. Zaccaro in which Ms. Ferraro owns a one-third interest.

In 1983, however, the P. Zaccaro Co. had a loss for tax purposes of more than \$12,000, according to the couple's tax returns. Ms. Ferraro was able to report a loss of \$4,082 on her tax return, reducing her tax liability.

In addition, Mr. Zaccaro has been paying mortgages on the family home, according to his tax returns, a further indication that

his wife may not have qualified for the exemption. Francis O'Brien, a campaign aide, said on Monday that he did not know if Ms. Ferraro had intended to amend her congressional financial statements.

Mr. Zaccaro played a previously undisclosed and key role in the 1978 building sale that figures in the payment of back taxes.

A corporation he controlled provided most of the funds for Ms. Ferraro to purchase the property, and in early 1979, a few months after Ms. Ferraro sold her half interest in the property for almost \$100,000, Mr. Zaccaro bought back his wife's half interest. In October 1978, Ms. Ferraro's campaign treasurer wrote the Federal Election Commission that Mr. Zaccaro did not own any interest in the land.

Documents show that while Ms. Ferraro owns a one-third interest in the P. Zaccaro Co., the couple told the New York state Insurance Department last year, in applying for a real-estate broker's license, that they each owned half of the company.

While the couple's accountant, Jack Selger of New York City, said in a telephone interview on Monday that he had made a mistake in the 1978 return, he did not fully explain the error. In addition, Mr. Selger gave a slightly different account of the handling of the transaction from what was offered by Mr. O'Brien at the briefing.

Columnist Sends Roses to Ferraro

Los Angeles Times Service

DALLAS—She didn't get an apology, but the Democratic vice-presidential candidate, Geraldine A. Ferraro, did get something from the conservative columnist George F. Will—a dozen roses and a card saying, "Did anyone ever tell you you're cute when you're angry?"

On television Sunday, the congresswoman from New York was asked by Mr. Will whether her tax returns would show that she paid her fair share of taxes. "They sure will," Ms. Ferraro said, "and, George Will, tomorrow afternoon you're going to call me up and apologize for your column of today."

Ms. Ferraro contended that the column said she took advantage of tax loopholes. Mr. Will said he only suggested that her handling of the controversy over her financial affairs interfered that something was amiss.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Declares Hunt for Mines in Suez 'Open-Ended'

By Judith Miller
New York Times Service

ALEXANDRIA, Egypt—The Egyptian foreign minister has said that the international search for mines in the Gulf of Suez is "open-ended" and that U.S., British and French forces would be invited to stay until there was no longer a threat to the strategic waterway.

"As long as there is a job for them to perform, they are welcome as friends," said Esmat Abdel Meguid, the recently appointed foreign minister, on Monday.

Mr. Abdel Meguid said he did not know how long the mine-hunt would last or whether Egypt would ask the Western nations to expand their efforts to the Red Sea.

"We'll be in a much better position to know in a week's time," he said. At least 19 ships have been damaged in the area since July 9.

On Sunday, U.S. naval officers aboard the USS Sturtevant, from which specially equipped search helicopters are operating, said they would keep searching until they found a mine.

Mr. Abdel Meguid emphatically denied Libyan and Iranian assertions that Egypt was using the mines as a pretext for a Western military presence in the Gulf of Suez and Red Sea.

At the same time, he added, Egypt would not hesitate to request military assistance in the future from the United States or other Western powers if more mines were planted in the gulf, or whenever its vital interests were threatened.

"If we're in need of assistance from friendly countries, we'll request it," he said.

Egypt had not requested, nor did it desire assistance from, the Soviet Union in the mine-hunting effort, he said.

Two Soviet minesweepers crossed the Suez Canal on Sunday, Mr. Abdel Meguid said, confirming earlier reports. He added that he did not know their destination, but assumed that they were bound for waters near South Yemen, where there have been several recent explosions, to help search for mines in the southern Red Sea.

Suspicion on Libya Grows

A high-level Egyptian military source was quoted as saying Tuesday that Egypt has "almost confirmed" its suspicion that Libya was responsible for laying the mines. The Associated Press reported from Cairo. The Middle East News Agency carried the source's remarks without naming him.

The source identified the Libyan

ferry Ghat as the vessel most likely to have laid the explosives. "The mines could not have been dropped from an ordinary ship," the source said.

A commercial court in Marseille, meanwhile, ordered the Ghat seized until Libya paid \$8 million owed to a Marseille shipping company. A Paris court earlier ordered Libya to pay \$5,000 a day for holding the French vessel Rosa since October 1979, and the sum has reached \$8 million.

Lloyd's Rules Out Mine

An explosion that badly damaged the Liberator tanker Oceanic Energy earlier this month was caused by a blast in one of its tanks and not by a mine, Reuters quoted Lloyd's Shipping Intelligence as reporting from London on Tuesday.

The report, which Lloyd's said was based on findings by U.S. Navy divers, substantiates information from shipping and other sources in Gulf countries.

The Aug. 5 explosion, originally reported by the captain to have been caused by a mine, occurred in relatively deep water in the central Red Sea, an area previously thought clear of mines. Other explosions were in two zones at the northern and southern extremes of the Red Sea in shallower water.

Police in Bombay charged a crowd that staged a rally to protest the removal of N.T. Rama Rao in Andhra Pradesh.

Gandhi Denies She Knew Of Minister's Dismissal

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Service

NEW DELHI—Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on Tuesday denied that she had been consulted in advance about the summary dismissal of the chief minister of Andhra Pradesh state, N.T. Rama Rao.

She also denied that her ruling Congress party had embarked on a campaign of toppling opposition state governments.

Mrs. Gandhi, in her first public comments on the political crisis in the south Indian state, spoke during a raucous, four-hour debate in Parliament.

She said her appointed governor in Andhra Pradesh, Ram Lal, had used his "own judgment" in deciding that Mr. Rama Rao had lost a majority in the state legislature because of political defections and in removing the minister from office without permitting a vote of confidence.

Amid shouts of "greatest lie!" and "fraud!" from the opposition benches, Mrs. Gandhi said that "any local party" in Andhra Pradesh had extended support to the dissidents who took over from Mr. Rama Rao. But she insisted the state governor's decision was "not influenced by me, my party or my government at the center."

The prime minister said the question of a majority in the state legislature "has to be decided only on the floor of the Andhra Pradesh assembly." She said she understood that the new chief minister, Bhasara Rao, who is backed by her party, has asked the state governor to advance the date of convening the legislature to settle the issue.

(The state's chief secretary, B.N. Ramani, said that one person was killed and three were wounded when police opened fire in the town of Shamshabad to disperse a crowd. Reuters reported from New Delhi. The police also used firearms in the state capital, Hyderabad, where 650 people were arrested. There were no casualties.)

The dispute extends far beyond Andhra Pradesh, partly because India's fractious opposition parties have united around the issue, four months before anticipated parliamentary elections that will determine Mrs. Gandhi's future. It also created an outpouring of sympathy for Mr. Rama Rao, a popular movie star who last month underwent coronary bypass surgery in the United States.

Andhra Pradesh, the fifth largest state in India and the first formed on a purely linguistic basis, has 42 seats in the Lok Sabha, the lower house of Parliament. Mrs. Gandhi's party has 39.

Congress-I strategists were said to have concluded that in order to retain its parliamentary strength there, the party would have to discredit the leadership of Mr. Rama Rao's Telegu Desam party, which in January 1983 swept past Congress-I and won 200 of the Andhra Pradesh assembly's 295 seats.

Last month, Farooq Abdullah was dismissed as chief minister in the state of Jammu and Kashmir and, in May, N.S. Bhadrani was

dismissed as chief minister of Sikkim.

Mr. Rama Rao appeared Tuesday at the palatial residence of India's president, Zail Singh, in an ambulance, leading a bus caravan of 162 Andhra Pradesh state legislators who professed their loyalty to the deposed chief minister and demanded an immediate vote of confidence in the assembly.

The assemblymen paraded before Mr. Singh, who, as a titular head of state, is powerless to act on their appeal. Mr. Singh only promised to look into a memorandum they presented him.

Reagan Plans Effort in East

(Continued from Page 1)

The Democratic coalition of labor, blacks, Jews, Hispanic Americans and blue-collar, urban Catholics. Even in the Reagan landslide of 1980, it was the only region in which Mr. Reagan did not win a popular-vote majority.

Initially, Mr. Mondale's choice of Ms. Ferraro, from a district in Queens, New York, with a substantial blue-collar constituency, was seen as a shrewd move to bolster the Democratic ticket in the Northeast and Middle West and to have blunted Mr. Reagan's chances, but her problems have emboldened the Reagan camp.

"St. Germaine is back to earth," Mr. Rollins said.

Other Reagan strategists now talk confidently of winning such states as Michigan, New Jersey and Connecticut. Moreover, they say that at the moment the president is ahead in such normally pro-Democratic states as New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Maryland. In 1972, Massachusetts was the only state to vote Democratic and, in 1980, Maryland was one of a handful to resist the tide.

TV Attacks on Mondale

A group of conservative activists unveiled on Monday two television commercials it has prepared for use in California and the Northeast attacking Mr. Mondale, the Los Angeles Times reported from Dallas. One depicts him as afraid to answer to "the liberal special interests," and the other uses the word "liberal" seven times in one minute to describe his political record.

One advertisement shows a red telephone, while an announcer says that "a sure and steady hand must always be ready to answer."



Kirkpatrick, in Dallas, Denounces Democrats

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Service

DALLAS — Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, a registered Democrat, took the podium at the Republican National Convention to denounce her party for "hiding its head in the sand" in the face of Soviet aggression.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick, the chief U.S. representative to the United Nations and one of the highest-ranking women in the Reagan administration, declared that President Ronald Reagan had "silenced talk" of inevitable American decline and "nibbled the world of the advances of freedom."

Republicans have been on the offensive on women's issues and have been seeking ways to portray Democrats as soft on military spending, Mrs. Kirkpatrick's appearance Monday, the first night of the convention, was useful to them both counts.

It was particularly significant because Mrs. Kirkpatrick was close many years to Hubert H. Humphrey, the former vice president of a senator from Minnesota who died in 1978, and to other Democrats who were liberal on domestic social-welfare issues but who advocated a tough approach in foreign affairs.

These Democrats were alienated in their party in a schism over Vietnam War, and Monday night marked the first time that a prominent Democratic "conservative" has taken to a public convention platform.

When asked about a rumor that plans to switch to the Republican Party, Mrs. Kirkpatrick said in television interview Monday night, "I don't have any such plans."

In her pointed criticism of Democratic foreign policy positions, Mrs. Kirkpatrick attacked by name Democratic presidential nomi-



nee, Walter F. Mondale, Humphrey's protégé in politics. For this she received some of her greatest applause.

As she took the rostrum, Mrs. Kirkpatrick was applauded wildly by delegates holding signs reading "Tell 'em, Jeane." Later, when she asserted that Mr. Reagan was not responsible for a list of Soviet repressions, the crowd shouted ever louder, "No! No! No!"

Mrs. Kirkpatrick asserted that Democrats had abandoned the world view of presidents Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson and had become "indifferent" to Soviet expansionism.

She described the presidency of Jimmy Carter as "the dismal period of retreat and decline" and said: "It was not malice we suffered from, it was Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale."

As one of Mr. Reagan's most influential foreign policy advisers, Mrs. Kirkpatrick offered a Republican campaign manifesto on foreign policy that confronted head-on many of Mr. Reagan's troubles with the Kremlin and in Lebanon and Central America.

"When our Marines, sent to Lebanon on a multinational peace-keeping mission with the consent of the United States Congress, were murdered in their sleep, the 'blame-America-first crowd' did not blame the terrorists who murdered the Marines, they blamed the United States," she said. "But then, they always blame America first."

"When the Soviet Union walked out of arms-control negotiations, and refused to even discuss the issues, the San Francisco Democrats didn't blame Soviet intransigence. They blamed the United States."

And, she added, "When Marxist dictators shoot their way to power in Central America, the San Francisco Democrats don't blame the guerrillas and their Soviet allies, they blame United States policies of 100 years ago."

Mrs. Kirkpatrick opened her speech by recalling that Truman and other Democrats developed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Marshall Plan and devised the Alliance for Progress.

"They were not afraid to be resolute or speak of America as a great nation," she said. "They happily assumed the responsibilities of freedom."

But, Mrs. Kirkpatrick said, Democrats at their convention in San Francisco last month barely touched the subject of foreign policy. She asserted that the party "behaved less like a dove or a hawk than like an ostrich — convinced it could shut out the world by hiding its head in the sand."

To dramatize the point, Mrs. Kirkpatrick asked a series of rhetorical questions, including, "What would become of Africa if Europe fell under Soviet domination?" and "What would become of Israel?" if it were to be surrounded by "Soviet client states?"

The Democrats "have not answered" these questions, she said, and "they haven't even asked."

Mrs. Kirkpatrick recalled the crises of the Carter years, including the development of new Soviet missiles, the holding of American hostages in Iran and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

Goldwater Speech Stirs Worrisome Memories

Compiled by Our Staff from Dispatches

DALLAS — Republican convention planners, seeking to honor Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, arranged for the conservative to address delegates Wednesday night. They may be in for more than they bargained for.

Staff members who claim to be

CONVENTION NOTEBOOK

familiar with Mr. Goldwater's text say it contains a repetition of words he uttered in accepting the party's 1964 presidential nomination:

"I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. I would also remind you that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

They brought him a thunderous ovation but stamped his candidacy with extremism, helping pave the way for Lyndon B. Johnson's landslide victory.

"We don't need that," said a Reagan campaign coordinator.

A veteran of the 1964 campaign said, "The damn fools who scheduled Barry Goldwater to speak and didn't know he was going to sound like Barry Goldwater must have been 6 years old when he was running for president."

Guests in the 520-room Atrium One wing of the Loews Anaville Hotel, where Mr. Reagan arrives Wednesday and will appear at a rally, have been notified they must clear that portion of the hotel for several hours to permit a room-to-room search by agents. The guests were told they would be allowed to return after passing through metal detectors.

Senator Robert J. Dole of Kansas, who has been considered by some to be a potential presidential candidate in 1988, said Monday it may be a good sign that his hotel room number is 1988. But the Sen-

Where Have All the Protesters Gone?

By Haynes Johnson
Washington Post Service

DALLAS — The protesters' camp sits on a dusty plain, baking in the heat, wedged between a railroad track, a jail, a freeway and a polluted river. It held barely 600 people — a small turnout given the occasion and supposed motivation — and the inhabitants have scant hope that their effort represents political change.

Many are frankly discouraged by the slight mustering of their ranks. "Yeah, I was disappointed," said a bearded man in a baseball cap who was squatting on the ground near a campfire Monday. "I assumed the whole plain would be filled with people. I remember when we demonstrated in '68, wore black armbands and had 8,000 people. Now there's not enough people to make an impression."

Whatever else this Republican convention proves to be, it seems to mark the end of the sort of political protest — from civil rights to Vietnam — that once dominated news-casts and helped change the course of the country. Some would say that time was over long before this gathering of Republicans. If so, this convention underscores that finality.

The protest scene being played out here shows how little attention anyone pays to organized demonstrations these days. At their convention hall, the Republicans are celebrating success. "The American dream is alive and well," a speaker said from the podium at Monday's opening session, drawing loud applause. At their camp by the Trinity River, the protesters are a testament to political failure.

This is the Peace and Freedom Camp, a relic of the 1960s, peace flag and all, with a few tents pitched on the parched ground around two battered yellow school buses that had brought the protesters here.

Across the plain, on the other side of the freeway, stood a larger collection of tents. The "roadways" between them were designated with hand-lettered signs presumably intended to inspire the protesters and lift their spirits by recalling leaders of the past: Martin Luther King Jr., Boulevard ran near the intersection of John L. Lewis and Harriet Tubman streets.

Scattered about were protest banners and signs: "All People Deserve Respect and Dignity Regardless of Color" and "Convert the Bomb Factories to Serve People."

At first, the protesters were reluctant to concede that they were not making much, if any, impact. It had cost a lot to come to Dallas; the economy had hurt a lot of peo-

ple who might have traveled here; they were doing all right given the city and the heat.

But as they talked, the tone changed.

"I think Reagan's got the whole country snowed," one of them said. "Really snowed. He's even got the old people who are hurting cheering for him."

"There's no war right now," said another, by way of explanation.

"I think it's a psychic numbing of the whole country," said a Californian. "People see so much negativism, so many negative things, that they can't do anything about. So they don't know where to turn. They get numb — psychic numbing."

"Yeah, numh, that's right," said a young woman.

"There's too much selfishness today, too much greed," another commented.

"Oh, we're all basically selfish," the Californian said. "Every one of us has a selfish need, everyone asks if we're going to get something."

"And there's too many people who act more and more independently," was another view.

"They're out for themselves."

"Were they discouraged?"

"Yeah." "Yes." Nods of heads.

"It seems people don't give a damn," one said.

Only the Californian remained optimistic. "I'm not discouraged," he said, proceeding to the old litany

about brotherhood, peace and love. Did his optimism extend to the outcome of this year's presidential campaign? Can Ronald Reagan be beaten? Faint smile, then: "Miracles can always happen, you know."

Later a Dallas native who had sat silently nearby during the conversation spoke. "Dreamers, that's all they are." Pause. "But I guess we need dreamers."

Heat Wits Protesters

The camp area was virtually empty Tuesday because of the heat, United Press International reported. Police said that only 25 to 30 persons remained there.

Record high temperatures, including a reading of 108 degrees Fahrenheit (about 42 centigrade) on Sunday, played a key part in depleting the ranks of the campers. The protesters failed in federal court Monday to force Dallas to move them to air-conditioned surroundings or at least let them camp in a tree-shaded park. U.S. District Judge Barefoot Sanders reminded the protesters that they had agreed to camp in the Trinity River riverbed.

Acceptance of Computers May Infringe U.S. Laws

By Martin Tolchin
New York Times Service

DALLAS — Several computer companies contributed a total of more than \$2 million in equipment and services to the Republican National Convention in exchange for being designated the "official providers" of convention computers.

Now questions have been raised about the transactions, and a Federal Election Commission aide said they might violate federal campaign laws.

Both the Republican and Democratic national conventions received \$8.08 million from the federal government under a law that precludes use of other contributions.

The only exceptions allowed were corporate contributions to the host cities, provided they were used to help defray the costs of all conventions that gathered there and not set aside for a single gathering.

In this case, both Republican convention officials and representatives of the computer companies said they had dealt directly with one another and not with the Dallas Convention Center.

But they contended that these contributions were business transactions and not corporate donations, because the companies would benefit from the publicity they received. Some critics, however, argued that such an interpretation constituted an evasion of the law.

Compucorp, a Los Angeles-based company, has the largest computer operation at the convention. Their terminals at each of the 54 delegation locations, the convention post and message center constitute an electronic mail system.

A company director estimated the value of the company's equip-

ment and services as "well over \$1.5 million, if they had to pay for it." The cost to the company, he said, was about \$250,000, of which the convention paid about 25 percent.

Alan Saffron, a representative of American Network Services of Burlingame, California, said his system linked the 46 convention hotels and the convention center with the media. VMX, a voice message system based in Richardson, Texas, provided its services and equipment to the convention at no charge. EPS of Dallas has been used by the convention for the last two months to make graphics. A spokesman said the company had received a nominal fee.

When Fred S. Eiland, press spokesman for the Federal Election Commission, was told of the arrangements, he said: "It possibly could be a contribution in kind. It could constitute a violation of the law, which prohibits both the making and accepting of corporate contributions."

Democratic National Committee officials said individual and corporate contributors had donated \$1 million worth of equipment and services to a special fund set up by the City of San Francisco for use by all conventions in the city. The funds were mostly used to expedite transportation and to provide office space and furniture.

A similar mechanism was set up by the city, which established the Dallas Convention Fund Inc. and received \$3.9 million in contributions. Gary Hoitson, the convention's communications director, said, however, that the computer company efforts were not channeled through that mechanism.

China's Platform

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — China's ambassador to the United States has said the Republican Party platform "a gross violation of principle" guiding U.S.-Chinese relations.

Embassador Zhang Wenjin, in a gram Monday to the chairman of the Republican Party convention and platform committee in Dallas, said the platform's declaration on Taiwan and Hong Kong "reflected in China's internal affairs and 'deeply hurt the national sentiments of the whole Chinese people.'"

We were shocked to learn," Mr. Zhang said, that "your party urged full support and implementation of the Taiwan Relations Act, showing no regard to the three na-U.S. joint communiqués" on relations between the two countries. The act provided for the U.S. maintain unofficial trade and cultural contacts with Taiwan and provide continued U.S. arms sales.

What is more," he added, "the Republican party draft platform is so far as to advocate self-determination for the people of Hong Kong."

Republicans Make Pitch to Unhappy Democrats

(Continued from Page 1)

ter Mondale would. But Walter said a man who can't say no. He sharp attacks drew repeated outbursts of applause and got the convention off to a rolling start, but taps the most significant comments here are coming from political strategists who say they see mounting evidence not only of Mr. Reagan's strength, but of increased support for the Republican Party. It represents a minority among stered voters.

Robert Teeter, who conducts the Reagan campaign and Republican congressional campaign committee, said recent poll showed that the president may "coattails" that could bring in Republican candidates on Election Day.

The projection, he said, is based on answers to a question about which party the voter most identifies with and has the most confidence in. When those "leaning" one way or the other are counted, he said, about 5 percent more people now identify with and have confidence in the Republican Party than the Democratic Party. Usually, he said, the Democratic Party has a big lead in this category.

The poll's findings represent "the most positive data" he has ever seen on Mr. Reagan's appeal to Democrats, Mr. Teeter said.

Although the polling seemed to support the Republicans' contention that Mr. Reagan will help the party's candidates in state and congressional races, past elections suggest that such predictions should be viewed with caution.

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Make sure you've got French wine and champagne from Moët and Chandon. (Don't forget the cheese board and fruit basket.)

Make sure you've got a comprehensive selection of business reading material.

Make sure you've got an electronic headset and a pair of comfort socks.

Make sure you've got someone to fuss over you. (Only an airline with one cabin attendant for every ten passengers can make sure you've got that.)

And make sure you've got an airline whose route network can take you to 40 different destinations



across four continents. In short, before you take off on business, make sure you've got a ticket flying Royal Executive Class on Thai.

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INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Thatcher and the Miners

The British miners' strike has now been running nearly five months, with much violence, hundreds of injuries, hundreds of arrests and a couple of deaths. Since the mines are nationalized, it is a strike against the government. Politics in industrial democracies is generally a process of working out tolerable compromises. That impulse is not visible this summer in Britain.

The immediate issue is the National Coal Board's attempt to close 20 of the least productive and most expensive mines. The union is striking for the preservation of jobs regardless of cost. Beyond that, it is trying to bring down Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government, as it brought down Edward Heath's government a decade ago.

For her part, Mrs. Thatcher has found in the miners and their defense of the uneconomic mines an example of precisely the traditions which, she believes, are going to have to be broken if Britain's economy is ever to grow like France's or West Germany's. The spirit on both sides is radical — the miners' radical Socialism against Mrs. Thatcher's radical nationalism. Each side seems to be convinced that it cannot give up much in this difficult contest of wills without damaging itself fatally. Both may be right.

The miners are weaker than they were a decade ago. They are not getting the same automatic support from other unions that they

did then, chiefly because their leadership has adamantly refused to allow a strike vote. Their tactic was to begin the strike with the most vehemently committed men and assume that they would sweep all the others along. That has led the union into heavy reliance upon flying squads of pickets moving — illegally — back and forth across the country. The result is a great deal of fighting with police, head-banging and rock-throwing.

It is not a conventional strike but a kind of rebellion, driven by a sense of real despair among the miners. Their union has lost more than half its members in the past 20 years. Normally people drift out of shrinking industries to the others. But the unemployment rate in Britain is now nearly 13 percent, by far the highest since the 1930s, and still rising.

Mrs. Thatcher appears to have concluded that it is crucial to her government and to her ideas not only to win this struggle with the miners but to be seen to win it without qualification. Over the months of the strike she has become more inflexible. She is right in principle, but she has long since passed the point at which most skillful politicians would have begun to look for ways to cut the costs of victory. The continuing violence by the miners is disquieting, but not so disquieting as the all-or-nothing mood that seems increasingly to have seized the British government.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

The Platform in Dallas

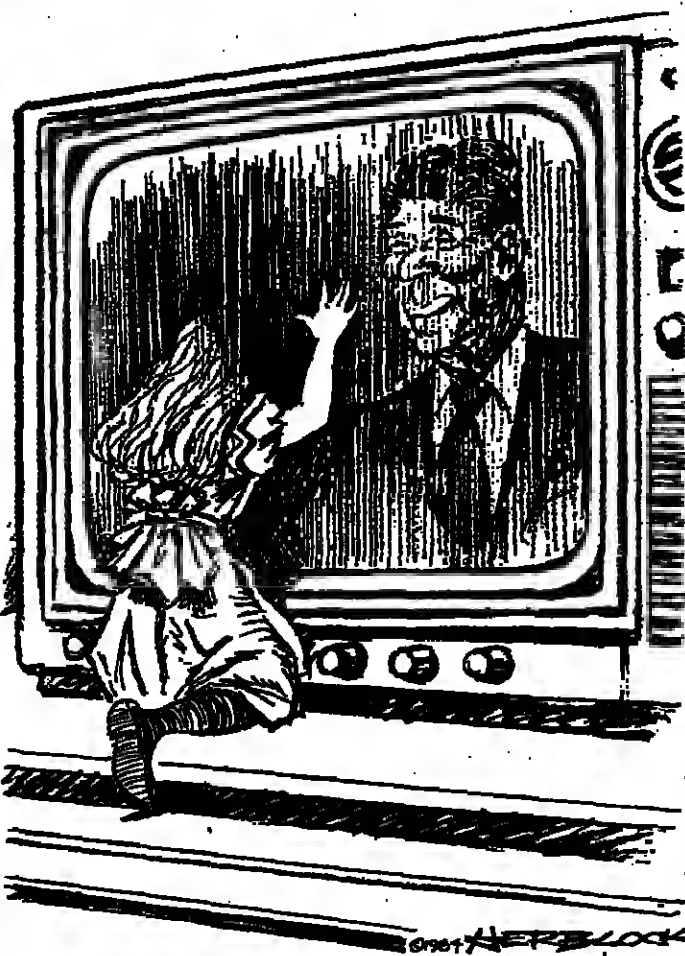
Is there any reason to take the platforms — the one the Republicans have adopted in Dallas, or the one the Democrats adopted in San Francisco last month — seriously? Not really, the experienced pros who run the Reagan and Mondale campaigns assure one and all. The Republican platform is full of exoticism, and some of it has the air of proposals by college sophomores who stayed up too late the night before. The Democrats had their clunkers too. But don't worry, the pros will assure you, with a cheerful, cynical smile. Who cares what's in the platform anyway?

Well, no one can argue that parties are bound by their platform planks. Promises are sometimes made to be broken. But consider just how and why some of the outlandish promises in this year's platforms were made. The Republicans, their leaders say, accepted no-tax language and other planks the president was against because they did not want to do anything to disrupt the unexpected unity party unity this year. The Mondale forces accepted an anti-interventionist foreign policy plank, a position on quotas, and yet another party rules commission (which Walter Mondale had opposed) in order to eliminate every possible

floor fight with the outnumbered Jackson and Hart forces.

Hardheaded Realpolitik, it appears: The conventions are television programs, and nothing must be allowed to obstruct the happy, orderly flow. But a word of caution needs to be added. Don't be so quick to accept assurances by either party that the siller planks in their platforms are 1,000 percent meaningless. Remember that the same people and the same political forces which extracted these concessions at or before the conventions will also be operating over the next four years, in Congress, in pressure groups, staffing the new administration. They will not operate in quite the same way, of course, or with the same effectiveness, when real laws and decisions are made, not just platform language are at stake. But they will be trying to move things in the same direction, and they will likely have some success. So if a re-elected President Reagan moves us toward a gold standard, or a new President Mondale moves toward withdrawing all American forces from some quarter of the world, do not be altogether surprised. It was there in the platform.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.



Can Good Candidates Make Good Presidents?

By Flora Lewis

DALLAS — The long, distressing rump to the conventions has reconfirmed the judgment of the political scientist James MacGregor Burns. "We possess," he wrote, "one of the worst top-leadership recruitment systems in the democratic societies of the world."

In his challenging new book, "The Power to Lead," Burns analyzes America's political flaws and concludes that "the failures have not been only those of particular leadership, but of leadership in a broader sense, and of the system that supports and fragments it." The fact that the unique American constitutional system has lasted nearly 200 years is not a virtue in his eyes.

Instead, he argues that its obsolescence has produced the paralysis and incapacity that afflict the body politic. Madison's genial ideal of checks and balances worked wonderfully when the United States was young. But Burns holds that in maturity the system can no longer organize power in a competent way.

Certainly he has a strong point in showing how the qualities that now win nomination and election have been separated from the capacity to govern well. At times it seems that a good candidate and good president must be opposite types.

A number of scholars and political thinkers have been worrying for years about this gap. Some attribute it to television and its stress on personal image, as distinct from substance. Others see the villain in the spread of primaries and the tendency to separate the party from the candidate's personal campaign machinery. The decline of the political

party as the matrix to hold public opinion, legislators and executive together on a steady, creative course is widely recognized as a serious handicap for effective government.

Many different proposals have been made for constitutional reform, ranging from Lloyd Cutler's idea of an election every four years for a single ticket "team" of president, vice president and local representative to a complex plan by Burns to strengthen the president. All of them address this central issue of restoring more discipline and responsibility to the parties.

Often, critics look abroad to other democratic systems, most of them one form or another of Britain's parliamentary model. They see advantages, as Burns does, in a tight link between the leadership and the legislature to enact a program undisturbed by compromise.

They tend to overlook the disadvantages of what often becomes a rubber-stamp legislature, driven to pay more attention to theory than practicality in its concern for purity of line.

True, the U.S. Congress does tend to check executive zeal. There has been a curious reversal of its influence in the last half-century. In President Franklin D. Roosevelt's day, Congress repeatedly broke his social and economic reforms until, appealing over the Capitol dome, the president mobilized determined popular will.

In recent years, particularly in the Reagan ad-

ministration, Congress has forced compromise after compromise on the attempt to dismantle these reforms and on a militant foreign policy. In both periods, there has been congressional restraint of precisely the kind the Constitution's writers envisaged, though in different directions.

Burns' ideas would diminish if not almost demolish this role. They would, in effect, come near to establishing a parliamentary system by making it much harder for Congress to refuse the president's demands. Burns would balance this imposition of obedience by broadening grounds for impeachment to include a general loss of confidence in the leadership.

The trouble with all these remedies is that they are likely to cause more damage than they repair. Americans know how to punish legislators if voters feel they are hamstringing a wise president. They have repeatedly chosen to limit the president's options, even when he is popular.

Checks and balances, considered essential when national power was weak and dispersed, are even more necessary now that communications, money, power and interest organizations including unions are so concentrated. Americans need, as the critics say, a way to pick better leaders and enable them to act with broad public support.

But the answer is not a more powerful president, it is a public more interested in complex issues. The Founding Fathers are not out of date. They foresaw the importance of protecting citizens from their own irresponsibility.

The New York Times.

more they convince people that they are different from Reagan — as they have tried to do on taxes and dealing with the Russians, for example — the more people will say that they prefer Reagan's way." This thesis can certainly be debated, and it may be exaggerated, if not totally wrong. But the implications of this view are worth exploring.

If Reagan is the issue in this election, what is there really to debate? In terms of the institutional presidency, Reagan has unquestionably restored the authority of the office and has made it once again the center of the national government that the Founding Fathers intended.

What can be debated is whether his internal management of the presidency rests on a genuine command of issues and facts, or is overly dependent on the guidance he receives from his often quarrelsome staff and cabinet "subordinates."

In terms of the economy, Reagan has unquestionably restored a sense of well-being to millions of families by breaking the pattern of "stagflation" and ushering in a period of extraordinary growth that has raised real after-tax incomes. What can be debated is whether a continuation of the same policies, which he and the platform promise, will continue to produce pleasing results — or will fall victim to budgetary and trade deficits of unprecedented scale and crash into another recession.

In terms of the society, Reagan has unquestionably engendered a feeling of patriotism and pride. What can be debated is whether the growing inequality between races and classes that is evident despite his denials is just a temporary "growing pain" problem or a symptom of social injustice which will inevitably bring social conflict in its wake.

In terms of the world, Reagan has unquestionably increased visible American military strength and forced the Soviet Union to reconsider its relationship with the other superpower. What can be debated — after the mixed record of Lebanon and Grenada and Central America — is whether he has evolved any coherent strategy for making that power serve the cause of peace and the protector of vital national interests, or whether he is embarked on a course that will inevitably destabilize the world.

Reagan has been brilliantly successful at projecting his successes and at disguising the risk factors his policies may contain. But if this election is as focused on Reagan as it appears to be, then conceivably that debate will now finally take place.

The Washington Post.

Other Opinion

The Slow Rise of Gromyko

As Western governments look at the rubble of East-West relations they are forced to ponder these intriguing questions: What is the role of Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko? And is he, with his enormous experience, a potential conduit of understanding or is he a major part of the problem?

Unfortunately the observable facts appear to support negative answers to such questions.

Westerners like to think that U.S.-Soviet relations will improve as more members of the Soviet power structure become sophisticated through exposure to the outside world. If this thesis is correct, Gromyko should be our kind of Soviet bureaucrat. After all, the man has been in more or less constant contact with the West since 1939, when he became head of the American department of the foreign ministry. He has since been ambassador to Washington, to the Court of St. James and to the UN Security Council. He sat behind Josef Stalin at the World War II conferences in Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam.

Gromyko became foreign minister in 1957, when John Foster Dulles was President Dwight D. Eisenhower's secretary of state. Since that time the U.S. State Department has gone through eight bosses: Christian Herter, Dean Rusk, William Rogers, Henry Kissinger, Cyrus Vance, Edmund Muskie, Alexander Haig and George Shultz. But the 75-year-old Gromyko is still running the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Outsiders are always at a disadvantage in trying to fathom what is going on behind Kremlin walls. But Western experts think that they see persuasive evidence that Gromyko is now a dominant voice in Soviet policy toward the outside world.

After Leonid I. Brezhnev's death in late 1982, Gromyko moved to the front row of the

Politburo seating chart. At the funeral of Yuri V. Andropov, Brezhnev's successor, the foreign minister actually spoke ahead of Dmitri F. Ustinov, the chief of the Soviet Union's military-industrial complex. Western political leaders noticed that during their recent meetings with party boss Konstantin U. Chernenko, Gromyko did not hesitate to interrupt.

The rise of Gromyko's influence coincides with a period of Soviet bellicosity. The four foreign ministers in oow seen as a pre-eminent hard-liner who is probably the chief architect of the Soviet Union's unbending stance of hostility toward the Reagan administration and of inflexibility on arms-control issues.

As a U.S. intelligence official put it the other day, for years Gromyko has been a conduit for policies made by other people. Now, at last, he can make policy himself, but the results are not what we would like.

—Los Angeles Times.

Marcos a Year After Aquino

One year after the assassination of Benigno Aquino, Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos is still managing to retain a tenuous control over a nation which is laboring beneath the grip of the deepest political economic and social crisis of its history.

Marcos's ability to withstand the unrelenting waves of public outrage that have battered the foundations of his nation and the fatal shooting at Manila Airport a year ago reflects not only his own resilience and power consolidation, but also the continuing inability of his new opposition to forge any solid mettle out of the furnace of Aquino's martyrdom.

The whirlwinds of protest are doing much more to perpetrate disorder and anarchy than to germinate a new social and political reality for the Philippines.

—The New Straits Times (Kuala Lumpur).

'Gods' of East Germany Proved All Too Mortal

By Franz Loeser

This is the last of three articles.

COLOGNE — The "gods," as members of the East German Politburo are called, live in their own secluded world in Wandlitz, a small place outside Berlin, behind barbed wire, heavily guarded by military police, inaccessible to anybody.

They have long ago lost contact with the people. On the rare occasions when Mr. Honacker visits a factory, the specially chosen worker to whom he is going to speak is told beforehand what questions Mr. Honacker will ask and what the worker is to reply.

How long will East Germany's model of Socialism grind on? That will be decided primarily in the economic field. Living standards steadily improved after World War II, but the economy has been deteriorating in recent years.

The energy crisis of the 1970s and the recent world recession are, of course, one reason. But the principal factor is the party machine's dictatorial interference in economic decisions. Developments in agriculture demonstrate this well.

The late Politburo member Gerhard Grunberg was the boss of East German agriculture. Autocratic, dogmatic and lacking an agricultural education, Mr. Grunberg wanted to introduce large-scale, mechanized agriculture. He wanted to separate cultivation from animal husbandry.

Such a system is suitable for the American Midwest, but not for East Germany, which has different soil conditions and a tradition of intensive planting. The experts and the farmers warned that this would be a terrible mistake, but Mr. Grunberg's orders had to be carried out. The only thing that saved East German agriculture from complete ruin was his death in 1981.

Party interference has had a similar catastrophic effect in industry. A sociological study of the Robotron factory in Dresden revealed that three-quarters of young workers felt that they had no voice in the affairs of their factory. More than 60 percent indicated that they were afraid to voice any criticism. (The results of this study were made known only to the party leadership.)

The Communist countries are losing the economic race with the West. People in the Communist countries feel it, and the party leaderships know it. Yet the leaderships seem bewildered about what to do, or how to win the race against capitalism.

Efforts to delay the inevitable take many forms. The Hungarians are bravely experimenting with capitalist forms of management, as well as capitalist-style ownership in certain sectors of their economy.

But where will this lead? Back to capitalism or forward to what? Nobody knows. Hungary's reforms are really an admission that this model of socialism does not work. In a last

desperate effort to save it, the party is falling back on capitalism.

In Poland the more or less spontaneous rise of the Solidarity labor movement was an attempt to overthrow the party machine. But Solidarity lacked a program. Neither Solidarity nor the Catholic Church has a clear vision of how to build a democratic socialist society.

The current leadership of the Polish party has admitted the dictatorial nature of the previous party leadership. It has pledged itself to a democratic renewal of Socialist society. But not only is the party's leadership split into various opposing factions, the party membership exists more or less only on paper. Moreover, the leadership lacks a theory about how to democratize Polish society.

Most important, the Polish people, because of the negative experiences with Socialism, are almost wholly alienated from the party, so that the latter is powerless to rule except by force, which in turn holds out no hope for democratization.

Nor is there any sign whatsoever that the Soviet party leadership has any plan for the democratization that is essential.

So will the end of our century be characterized by the end of the Communist movement?

Despite my personal disillusionment, I do not believe so. What we are more likely to witness is the painful dying out of an outmoded model of Socialism and a fierce struggle for new, diversified and more democratic forms of it.

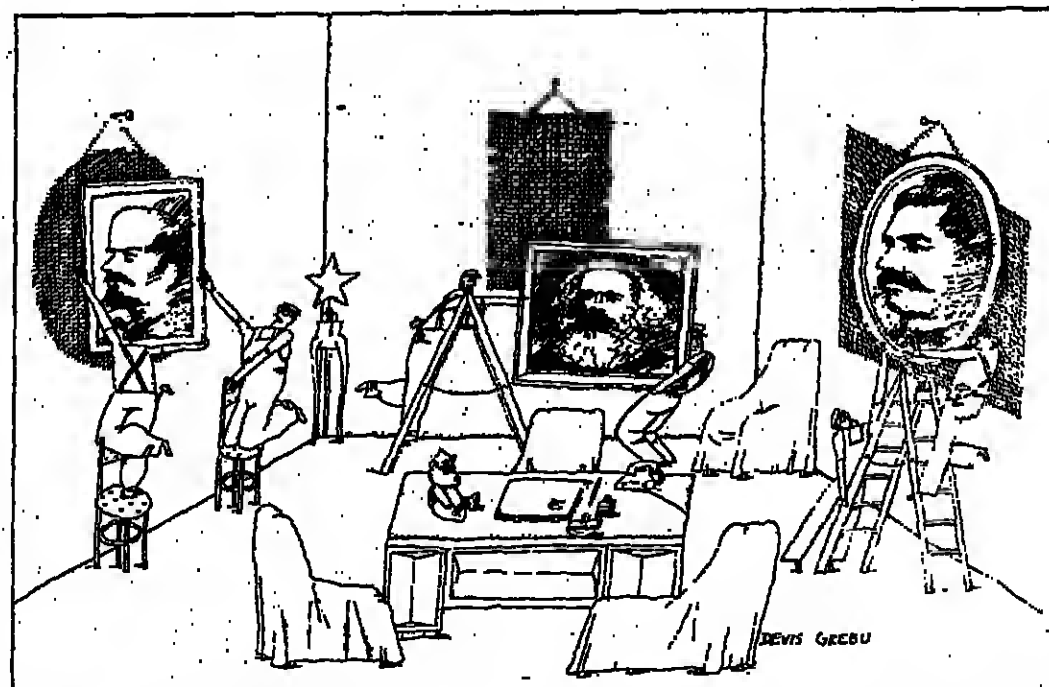
The beginnings of this struggle can already be clearly discerned in such events as the Prague Spring of 1968, and the rise of Solidarity in 1980.

Today three distinct and conflicting political philosophies are struggling for power in the Soviet Union and other Communist countries.

The first is neo-Stalinism, which supports a system that is undemocratic and dogmatic. It stresses egalitarianism and the rights of a "working class," but is held together by police force and repression. Albania, Romania and North Korea are such systems, although the neo-Stalinist ideology continues to have an influence in all Communist countries, particularly among the older generation of party officials.

The second and currently official theory in most Communist countries is the reform philosophy, which seeks to overcome the weaknesses of Stalin's model of Socialism by reforming it — but without relinquishing the dictatorial power of the party machine. This is the tactic Mr. Andropov wanted to use, and which is being implemented in Hungary.

The third is the revolutionary philosophy, which wants to end the dictatorship of the bosses and introduce



democracy. There now exists no detailed program on how to renew Socialism society democratically.

The reform regime led by Alexander Dubcek in Czechoslovakia was trying to develop such a program in 1968 when it was stopped by a Soviet-led invasion. (Among the radical ideas being considered by the Czech reformers was the possibility of establishing two Communist parties — one in opposition and one in power, but both accepting the fundamental principles of Communist ideology.)

A revolutionary Socialist program will have to restore democratic processes to the party. The party leaders would be elected democratically by the membership.

The terms of office for the members of the Politburo, and the office of the general secretary, would be

strictly limited, and the party would recognize the real independence of the trade unions, scientific and cultural organizations and even other political parties — provided those parties accepted the goal of a democratic, socialist society.

There would have to be a free press with the right and the duty to criticize the party leadership.

Changes have begun. But how will differences eventually be resolved? Nobody can know for certain. My guess is by a combination of violent revolutionary uprisings and gradual evolutionary changes.

These upheavals will pose immense dangers for world peace. But, in the end, our world will be a better and safer place to live in.

Now, neither the Western capitalist world nor the Communist coun-

tries have a clear vision of how to resolve their antagonisms peacefully. I now fear that I was right in 19 (but for the wrong reasons) about a danger of a new holocaust.

Our world seems to be slipping irresistibly toward a catastrophe. I best hope to avert it for both Socialism and capitalism to become more democratic. Only then will the be able to come to terms with each other, rather than destroy themselves in a nuclear war.

The writer served as first secretary of the Communist Party at Humboldt University in Berlin for many years and was for the last 20 years a member of the presidium of the East German Peace Council. He contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Eye on the Germans

Regarding "The Germans: Trying Reunification on the Sly..." (Aug. 14) by William Safire:

Mr. Safire's opinions are based on the assumption that the only alternative to the 30-year-long partition of Germany would be a unified, centralized, German nation-state like the American or French republics. But no one in Germany, West or East, has forgotten that the 74-year-long experiment of a German nation-state that failed in 1945 at a cost of tens of millions of Allied and German lives. The experiment will not be repeated.

However, separate German states in an earlier age enjoyed free trade, cultural exchange, and personal mobility, without compromising their alliances with other non-German states. Indeed, Mr. Safire's conclusion is correct: a neutralized, reunified Germany would be easy prey for any superpower in the neighborhood. But if the two governments of Germany agree to profit from each others' economic and cultural strengths, the center of Europe would be more stable than it has been in the last 30 years. Political reunification is a dead end.

But the nation's commercial and cultural resources again can be exploited without devaluation of either states' political capital.

PATRICK V. DROTOS, Darmstadt, West Germany.

Defining Birth Control

Your recent articles concerning population control and the Mexico City conference fail to distinguish between prevention of pregnancy and prevention of birth. The U.S. government supports programs that attempt to prevent pregnancy.

They know that, after conception, the woman is carrying a developing person, a newly created human being, and not just some blob of goo. The U.S. government does not support programs which advocate destruction of that person, merely because it is unwanted, whether it is one week or 100 years after conception.

Why is it that so many people falsely equate abortion with prevention of pregnancy and do not see the real relationship of abortion to euthanasia?

MICHAEL V. McCABE, London.

Rebutting Kissinger

As a strong believer in the freedom of the press and Voltaire's philosophy as expressed in his letter to Helvétius "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it," I would not deny Henry Kissinger a forum.

Glenn I. Anderson suggests in his letter to you (Aug. 17) that when giving such a controversial figure as Kissinger a platform would also give it to those who can refute what he has to say? In this particular case I would suggest that you publish at least parts of a book by Seymour M. Hersh entitled "The Price of Power" (Kissinger in the Nixon White House), particularly such chapters as "Vietnam: The Policy; The Wiretaps; Decay; Intrigues; SALF; MIRY; Mistake; Southeast Asia; Policy Change and Escalation; Cuba; A False Crisis; Chile; Get Rid of Allende; Vietnam: A Missed Chance; Vietnam: Politics Before Peace; and Vietnam: The Christmas Bombs" among others.

ROBERTO R. ALSINA, Madrid.

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Romania Playing Down Soviet Liberation Role

Book Says Anti-Fascist Coup in 1944 Was Solely an Internal Political Affair

By Richard Balmforth

BUCHAREST — On the eve of the 40th anniversary celebration of Romania's liberation from Nazi control, a book published in Bucharest today says the events of August 1944 that played down the role of the Soviet Army.

A book, written by a brother of the late Nicolae Ceausescu, claims that the small Romanian communist Party masterminded the palace coup of Aug. 23, 1944, and led to a Communist takeover the following year.

The book, "200 Days Sooner" as written by Ilie Ceausescu, a prominent military historian, and serialized in the press. It is at variance with Soviet claims that the Red Army liberated Romania, Western diplomats said. It has also at the tone for Thursday's celebrations, which are expected to have a strong nationalistic flavor, they said.

Foreign delegates attending the activities will include a Soviet Po-

litburo member, Vitali Vorotnikov. The East German leader, Erich Honecker, will also attend, East European sources said.

Under the military dictator, Marshal Ion Antonescu, Romania sided with the Germans against the Soviet Union for most of World War II. By August 1944, Soviet troops were moving on Bucharest. King Michael and forces loyal to him lured Marshal Antonescu to the royal palace on Aug. 23 and arrested him. He was tried and shot.

The king formed a coalition government that included the previously hounded Communists, declared war on Germany and sought an armistice with the Soviet Union and its Western allies.

The new account puts greater emphasis than before on Romania's view that the "anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution" of August 1944 was solely an internal affair. It goes to great lengths to deny Soviet involvement.

In particular, the Ceausescu asserts that Soviet forces were 600 kilometers (375 miles) from Bucharest when the coup took place. Many Western accounts have said they were much closer than this.

The main thrust of Mr. Ceausescu's argument is that without Romania's support for the Allies, the war would have lasted 200 days longer, hence the book's title.

Western diplomats said it was striking that the book drops all mention of Romanian and Soviet troops fighting shoulder-to-shoulder, previously the standard official rhetoric. Instead, it says that Soviet forces arrived in Bucharest at the end of August, eight days after the coup.

Western diplomats said it was clear the Romanian authorities wanted to restore national pride to Romania's war record, which has suffered from its sudden switch of allegiances.

Another new element in the book is the enhanced role ascribed to the small Romanian Communist Party of the day, which the Ceausescu says planned the coup.

Western diplomats are skeptical of the claim.

The new version also denies any real place to Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dea, who then led the party. This is in line with a gradual diminishing of his historical role as an aura is created around the present party and state leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, who was in prison at the time of the coup.



TALKS IN BUCHAREST — President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania greeting Li Xiaomian, the Chinese president, after his arrival for talks this week.

Galvin, in Dublin, Calls British 'Real Terrorists'

The Associated Press

DUBLIN — Martin Galvin, an American IRA sympathizer who eluded security forces in Northern Ireland, declared at a press conference Tuesday that he had refused to bow to British "terrorism."

Flanked by leaders of Sinn Fein, the political arm of the outlawed Irish Republican Army, Mr. Galvin said that an assault by police officers attempting to arrest him at an Aug. 12 rally in Belfast had shown Americans "who are the real terrorists."

Regarding the police charge at the rally, in which one man was killed and 20 people were injured, he said: "Anything that showed the people of Ireland and the people of the United States what British rule really represents was helpful. . . . They want to help in the United States, and if they see what British terrorism is they will realize the only way to peace is for the British to leave Northern Ireland."

Mr. Galvin, who later left Ireland on a flight back to New York, told an Irish radio reporter, "If I had had a gun at the time, I would have tried to use it to protect women and children."

The New York lawyer said he dyed his fair hair reddish brown as a disguise after he simply "walked away" into a getaway car from the rally outside Sinn Fein's Belfast headquarters.

Mr. Galvin, publicity director of the New York-based Irish Northern Aid Committee, or Noraid, had defied a British ban on his entry into Northern Ireland. He pledged Tuesday that he would return to the province whenever he wanted.

"Every word he has uttered has been justification for the exclusion order," said Jim Alastair, a spokesman for the Democratic Unionist Party, a Protestant political party in Northern Ireland.

In Dublin, Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald's government said in a statement that Mr. Galvin was "responsible for death and destruction in Northern Ireland," and that his presence in the Irish Republic was unwelcome. But the Dublin government did not ban him and said he was not wanted for any crime.

The violence at the rally sparked further violence over several days in Roman Catholic areas of West Belfast.

It also generated widespread criticism in Britain and elsewhere of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, Northern Ireland's predominantly Protestant police force, and brought a protest from Mr. FitzGerald's government.

James Prior, Britain's Northern Ireland secretary, said later that the decision to ban Mr. Galvin had been a mistake.

Western TV Ads Feed East German Dreams

By William Drozdiak

Washington Post Service

BERLIN — Each evening, just before the 7 o'clock news, a parade of brisk commercials appears on West German television: Old ladies brag about their dentures, candy explodes out of a circus cannon, kids pop and jerk in a break-dance of joy over a soft drink and a beautiful blonde strokes her hair sensually after a shampoo.

A Western viewer may find the interlude useful as a chance to stretch the legs and get a cold beer. But for many of East Germany's 17 million citizens, 70 percent of whom are believed to watch West German television, the nightly sequence of advertisements depicting a world of magical wealth and amusement is watched with a mixture of awe and delight.

Ever since the East German leader, Erich Honecker, announced a few years ago that the Communist authorities would no longer tear down antennas but allow people to watch what they liked, West Germany's two main television stations have exerted an incalculably large influence on the perceptions of East Germans.

East Germans who have left for the West this year in greater numbers than at any time since the Berlin Wall was built in 1961 often cite the allure of consumer abundance depicted in television commercials as an important factor in their choice to leave their homeland.

Many are disappointed when their new lives do not match the fantasies shown in advertisements.

West German television also provides a unique window for East Germans to gain exposure to relatively unbiased news accounts no other East Bloc country can enjoy.

Peter Meerseburger, the East Berlin correspondent for West Germany's first channel, ARD, says East Germans, including top officials, look first to Western TV news and then to their own.

East German news programs are dull, boring and, in the end, counterproductive propaganda. Mr. Meerseburger is treated in East Germany as something of a celebrity, often stopped by pedestrians in small towns when he goes for a stroll or engaged in debate by Communist functionaries who have seen his reports.

Thanks to the same TV exposure, West German politicians also discover the joys of unexpected popularity when they venture into East Germany.

Franz Josef Strauss, the conservative Bavarian leader often portrayed in the official East European

media as an archetypal cold warrior, was mobbed like a movie star by East Germans on a vacation trip last year. Such adulation could derive from curiosity as well as an instinct to show unspoken disapproval of the local authorities.

Television affects the East German penchant to travel or emigrate in other ways. During last spring's exodus, when more than 25,000 people left for the West, some waves of refugees were distinguished by the fact that five times as many came from Dresden as from other parts of East Germany, according to Philipp Jenninger, the chancellery's chief adviser on inter-German relations.

Dresden is described as the valley of the blind or ignorant, because its depressed geographical location thwarts reception of West German television transmissions.

Doctors, lawyers and engineers have been known to refuse to practice their professions there because much of the region cannot get Western TV programs. Throughout East Germany, the ARD channel is mockingly called "Ausser Raum Dresden" (loosely translated, "everywhere but Dresden").

Nobody is quite sure why so many of this year's refugees came from Dresden, but some speculation has centered on the possibility that lack of exposure to Western television aggravated local frustrations so much that many more people opted to go through the arduous process of applying to leave the country.

Alternatively, there is the belief that not being able to see Western television only exaggerated their expectations about wealth and freedom in the West, thus goading Dresden residents to reach what they might unwittingly perceive as a dreamland.

Still another hypothesis takes account of Dresden's historical tradition as a bastion of higher learning and free thinking in past centuries that has kept alive a spirit of intellectual rebellion. Other cities known for cultural importance, such as Weimar, also have experienced a high number of exiles to the West this year.

The East German refugees who streamed through the initial reception center at Giessen earlier this year cited one or a combination of the above explanations, along with the quest for freedom, as their main motivation.

None of them disputed the impact that West German television has made on their homeland, spurring decisions to travel to a world they had known before only through a screen in a box.



Nina Petrovna and Nikita S. Khrushchev in 1963 photo.

Nina Khrushchev Dies; Widow of Soviet Leader

The Associated Press

MOSCOW — Nina Petrovna Khrushchev, 84, widow of the Soviet leader Nikita S. Khrushchev, died earlier this month in Moscow and was buried beside her husband, a Communist Party official said Tuesday.

An official in the Lenin's regional party office said that Mrs. Khrushchev died Aug. 8. She said a family member reported that Mrs. Khrushchev died in a Moscow hospital and was buried in Novodevichy Cemetery in the Soviet capital.

A death notice in the Aug. 11 edition of a Moscow newspaper announced the death of Nina Petrovna Khrushchev. Mrs. Khrushchev's name before she married, the notice drew no attention until word spread that Mrs. Khrushchev had died.

The notice said that the Communist Party office of the Lenin's region "reports with deep grief the death of a member of the Communist Party from 1920, pensioner Nina Petrovna Khrushchuk, and expresses profound condolences to friends and relatives of the deceased."

Her husband's death of a heart attack in September 1971 at age 77 was officially announced in similarly low-key fashion. Khrushchev, who became Communist Party secretary in 1953, was removed from power in 1964.

Mrs. Khrushchev was born in 1900. She met her husband when he worked in the Donbas coal region in the Ukraine in the early 1920s. She became his second wife in 1924 and they had two daughters, Rada and Elena, and a son, Sergei.

When she accompanied her husband to the United States in 1959, Mrs. Khrushchev received almost as much news coverage as he did. Before she left Washington she said the American people themselves had impressed her most.

"They have chosen a nice place and created beautiful things and they themselves are a noble, good-hearted people," she said.

After Khrushchev was deposed, he and his wife lived in seclusion at their country home. Their last known public appearance was when they went to vote in June 1971 elections for the national parliament, the Supreme Soviet.

As their car approached, Mrs. Khrushchev stopped it when she saw two Western reporters walking away from the polling station. She grabbed one by the arm and said: "Nikita Sergeyevich is here."

She looked on, beaming, as Khrushchev spoke to the reporters. When asked then to describe their life, Khrushchev shrugged and said, "I'm a pensioner now, what can I do?"

■ Other deaths: Vaseo Futscher Pereira, 62, former foreign minister of Portugal, who served in Africa, Brazil and West Germany and was a representative to the United Nations and ambassador to the United States, Monday in Lisbon after a long illness.

Zdzislaw Tomal, 63, vice chairman of Poland's Council of State, Saturday in Warsaw. Mr. Tomal, a leader of the Communist-allied Peasant Party, was vice chairman of the Council of Ministers from 1969 to 1976.

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A Mixed Year on the Stages of New York: A Londoner's View

By Benedict Nightingale

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Nearly a year ago I arrived in New York from London, to discover something curious about the city I'd known well to my footloose 20s, but had visited all too seldom since my jowls began to sag and the fuzz on them to grow. That was that everyone wanted to talk about the theater, and almost everyone had some connection with it.

Before I'd recovered from my jet lag, I'd been driven across town by a cabbie who had toured Europe in "Bubbling Brown Sugar," been shown an apartment by a man who

ran a theater museum, been offered another by a retired actor, been sold a phone by a resting actor, bought a book from a woman who insisted on doing her imitation of John Gielgud, and been brought food and drink by an assortment of aspiring hoofers and assistant stage managers masquerading as waiters.

New York was a theater-mad city — but where was the theater itself? Since "La Cage aux Folles" had already opened to general acclaim, there was no musical to review until mid-October, when a revival of "Zorba" brought Anthony Quinn to town, his singing voice and footwork a bit creaky but his grizzled charisma undiminished.

And not until November did a new American play bit either Broadway itself or one of the more prestigious off-Broadway addresses. Then it was that a melodrama called "Brothers" — presenting Carol O'Connor in high dudgeon at the refusal of one of his sons to donate a kidney to another — opened at the Music Box and proceeded to run for precisely one performance. Was scarcity and disaster to be the tale of my year as a theater critic in New York?

Well, yes. Well, no. What follows are a few memories of a sometimes exhilarating, sometimes maddening 11 months, a visiting maggot's not altogether random look at that

sweet-and-sour confection that likes to call itself the Big Apple.

In September Michael Bennett celebrated the 3,389th, record-breaking performance of his "Chorus Line." He brought New York's theater community to a tent in Stuyvesant Alley, and he'd brought onto the Shubert stage as many as possible of the dancers and singers who had appeared in his show, at one point 332 at once.

On they came, members of the current company, the original company, the bus-and-truck company, the various regional and international companies, slipping easily into one another's roles as the evening progressed and sometimes performing simultaneously.

In June, as I sat in the little waiting-room overlooking Lafayette Street, I could hear tiny

trilling and tooting sounds happily wafting in from next door at the Public Theater. Then the noise stopped, and in trooped two woe-begone figures, followed by a small, dapper man, Joseph Papp himself. "They want to do a musical about Al Capone," he explained as the others left. "I don't think they've got the style quite right."

Papp has brought sanity and order to the New York theater, giving it the Public complex, Shakespeare in Central Park, and plenty of other things. Now he is beginning to arm himself for his biggest battle yet, the creation of the National Theater of Broadway.

It is something he and its other advocates hope to produce out of thin air.

Papp says the fund for his project could start operating with an initial \$10 million from private or public sources.

I happen to agree with much of what he said about the drama: "The theater's about talking about debating. It's dialectic, thrilling and pleasurable and perhaps a bit frightening. If people get too comfortable in one position, I try to put on plays that will knock them out of it. I'll put them on even if myself strongly disagree with their point of view. . . . I don't like the extreme left, the extreme right, or the extreme middle. I reject all that, because in some areas I feel to the right, in some to the left, in some even to the middle. And I don't want my theater filled with plays putting across one point of view."

There are playhouses, many of them in my own country, where words like that should be branded across the portico.

Mind you, let's not belittle the British theater. Papp himself moaned about the relentless domesticity of American drama these days: "I've had to go to England, to Poland, Czechoslovakia and Russia for plays of a social nature, and what a relief they are! You feel you're back in the world at last. Here, it's so internal."

There are differences both large and small between our two theaters. In London the curtain sometimes rises on time, in New York never. In New York, the foyers are smaller and more crowded, theater bars scarier, the programs free, but less informative about the play.

Of course, costs and seat prices are up to five times higher in New York. And very importantly, explaining perhaps the greatest gap in the New York theater: no National Theater, no Royal Shakespeare Company, nothing between commercial Broadway and an off-Broadway that mostly stumbles by on private patronage.

But what I noticed almost more was the difference in content between the two nations' drama. A not-uncommon English play these days involves a young hoodlum who has spent the day beating up rival fans at a soccer match, setting fire to wheelchairs, pushing old ladies down elevator shafts, and doing other things that prove he's alienated and therefore a worthy subject of sympathy. After much grin analysis, the dramatist's fingers end accusingly pointed at educators, social workers, politicians, policemen, and (of course) us in the audience, who have been sitting and watching a bourgeois play instead of making revolution.

The archetypal American play seems to involve a child of maybe

30, 40 or 50 who, after three hours of in-depth reexamination on the front porch, manages to persuade his tyrannical father, voracious mother or both that he's left the cradle for good. At the climax, invariably seen by the author as a moral and spiritual triumph, the overage infant turns to his oppressors and says, with every appearance of meaning, "Mom and Dad, from here on out it will no longer be appropriate for you to change my diapers."

"Brothers," Christopher Durang's "Baby With the Bathwater," Tina Howe's "Painting Churches," Wendy Wasserstein's "Isn't It Romantic?," Terrence McNally's "The Rink" — again and again I found myself at plays, some very good, whose overriding issue was when, how and whether it was possible for physical adults emotionally to grow up.

Even the year's major revivals, Arthur Miller's "Death of a Salesman," Tennessee Williams' "The Glass Menagerie" and Clifford Odets' "Awake and Sing!" involved conflict between parent and child.

Yet the American drama can be very intense, very strong on the rare occasions it does grapple with social matters. The year produced David Mamet's "Glengarry Glen Ross," a scathing study of dog-eat-dog in the real estate jungle of Chicago, and David Rabe's "Hurlyburly," another picture of moral and emotional cannibalism, this time set in Hollywood. Why, then, did the New York theater seem so silent about the subject closest to itself, namely New York?

It seemed an opportunity squandered. Where in the New York drama was the tension, the barely contained hysteria, the alarming unpredictability of New York itself? Come to that, where was the generosity, the good-humor, the fun, the marvelous energy to be found there, too? Not until May, with "Balm in Gilead," Lanford Wilson's homage to the lower depths of the Upper West Side, did I see a play that caught the feel of the city's streets and tenements and coffee shops. And that work was 20 years old.

The Shuberts and the Nederlanders more or less are Broadway, since between them they own 28 of its 39 theaters. They've wrangled, been reconciled, waged again, and now seem to be observing an uneasy truce. But to meet their top executives is to know that they're ever likely to be toasting each other's birthdays over dinner on 44th Street. That's not for any grand professional reason, but because they're such a personal contrast. You can easily imagine Bernice Jacobs, president of the Shubert Organization, sipping good, dry champagne at Sardi's. James Nederlander Sr. seems the sort of fellow who'd be happy with a convivial Bud in the bar next door.

Both men agreed about one thing. They rejected Papp's glum prophecy about Broadway: that soaring costs and rising prices will eventually reduce the theatrical season to one musical playing for one performance to one oil tycoon paying a billion dollars for the privilege. Jacobs seemed particularly sanguine about the future, and perhaps had cause to be, with "Cats" continuing to demonstrate the Shuberts' instinct for commercial success, and "Glengarry" and "Sunday in the Park With George" proving they aren't interested in commercial success alone.

Sheridan Morley is on vacation.



Thelonus Monk: With a little help from his friends.

Monk, Ray Charles Take New Paths With Friends

By Michael Zwernin

International Herald Tribune

TWO new albums take two influential musicians beyond the rich but limited environments they have been ensnared in.

If the name Thelonus Sphere Monk does not mean much to you, perhaps some of these do: Joe Jackson, Elvin Jones, Peter Frampton, Johnny Griffin, Dr. John, John Scofield, Bob Dorough, Donald Fagen, Carla Bley, Todd Rundgren, Randy Weston, Steve Khan, Gil Evans, Chris Spalding, Steve Lacy — and that's out all.

On the double album "That's the Way I Feel Now" (A&M), these musicians and a wide variety of others play Monk's music "as they would for their own albums," according to Hal Willner, the producer. Monk in funk, rock, punk, honky-tonk, rhythm and blues, techno-pop, and traditional and avant-garde jazz takes him out of the bebop ghetto into wider spheres.

Peter Frampton has made rock albums that sold millions; he has been featured with George Harrison and many others. Chris Spalding, one of the most widely respected studio guitarists, has worked with Alan Price, Dusty Springfield, John Cale and Donovan; in the '70s he reportedly turned down an offer to join the Rolling Stones. The two of them churn out a hard-driving rock version of Monk's "Work," which sounds like play.

"Work" impressed the soprano saxophonist Steve Lacy, a Monk scholar who was about the only one playing his music when it was all but forgotten in the '50s, because the two rockers play this complex song correctly, which he says he did not do himself on his earliest recording of it.

Willner, responsible for a previous, eclectic effort, "Amarcord Nino Rota" featuring Rota's scores for Fellini films, says: "Through-out the making of [the Monk] album, I sensed a great feeling of mutual respect between the jazz and rock musicians."

Specifically, jazz musicians Ken McIntyre and Bob Cranshaw were enthusiastic recording Joe Jackson's arrangement of "Round Midnight" and moved by the rock

star's love for Monk. Jackson's scoring for strings and woodwinds is perhaps too parochial, conservative, but the taste is impeccable and his swinging, sensitive piano solo would surprise many jazz critics taking the blindfold test.

Dr. John plays a funky honky-tonk solo piano version of "Blue Monk"; Bob Dorough and Bobby McFerrin boogie through a vocal, "Friday the Thirteenth"; Steely Dan's Donald Fagen provides a rich synthesizer blanket for Steve Khan's sophisticated guitar improvisations on "Reflections" — one of Monk's more beautiful and lesser-known works — and Johnny Griffin moves hard straight-ahead through "Misterioso" with the Carla Bley band.

There are some disappointments. Todd Rundgren's "Four in One" is techno-kitsch; John Zorn's "Shuffle Boil" features disagreeable electronic grunts; Shockabilly's "Crisis Cross" is chaotic, disordered, anti-Monk.

But all to all, as Steve Lacy says: "This record proves that Monk's music is for everybody. It has come into its ultimate orbit."

On "Friendship" (CBS), the "genius of soul" Ray Charles sings duets on country and western standards with such Nashville stars as Hank Williams Jr., Johnny Cash, Willie Nelson, Ricky Skaggs, Merle Haggard, the Oak Ridge Boys and Janie Fricke.

Country music can be traced back to immigrants from Europe, mostly the British Isles. They brought their folk songs with them, and as they moved farther south and became more isolated from each other and their roots, music became an essential tie to the past and the mother country. Fiddles replaced bagpipes. They moved farther west. Under the Mexican influence, they began to play guitars.

It was rural folk music about basic human emotions about God, family, love, loneliness. The country and western branches came together in Nashville, Tennessee, with the birth of radio and the recording industry. In 1925 the Grand Ole Opry began broadcasting weekly over WSM, a powerful clear-channel radio transmitter, sending country and western to the cities.

In the meantime, black southern music was moving from slave hollers to the blues to rhythm and blues, and it all mixed together in Memphis, Tennessee, through Elvis Presley, Carl Perkins, Jerry Lee Lewis and others.

Country folk moved to the cities to find work, while city people moved south to the Sun Belt; a cross-fertilization with pop brought country and western to a wider audience. When Bob Dylan electrified country ("Nashville Skyline"), the following fusion was interesting enough but soon flourished in genres, losing some of the strength of both. It became big business, for money more than folk. The "progressive country" of Willie Nelson, Waylon Jennings and Ry Cooder, among others, brought back some basic human emotion.

But it was a one-way street. Whites performed black music for a white audience, and country and western was made by and for white people. With the exception of Ray Charles, one of the few figures in popular music who earns the premissuiscously used adjective "genius."

Charles' 1962 album, "Modern Sounds in Country and Western" sold more than a million copies, as did his hit single "I Can't Stop Loving You." He recorded another country album in 1962, "Wish You Were Here Tonight," and now he has done it again, better yet, a happy collection dealing with friendship, and it is, as the title song goes: "Just a perfect friendship."

Peter the Great to Be Filmed

United Press International

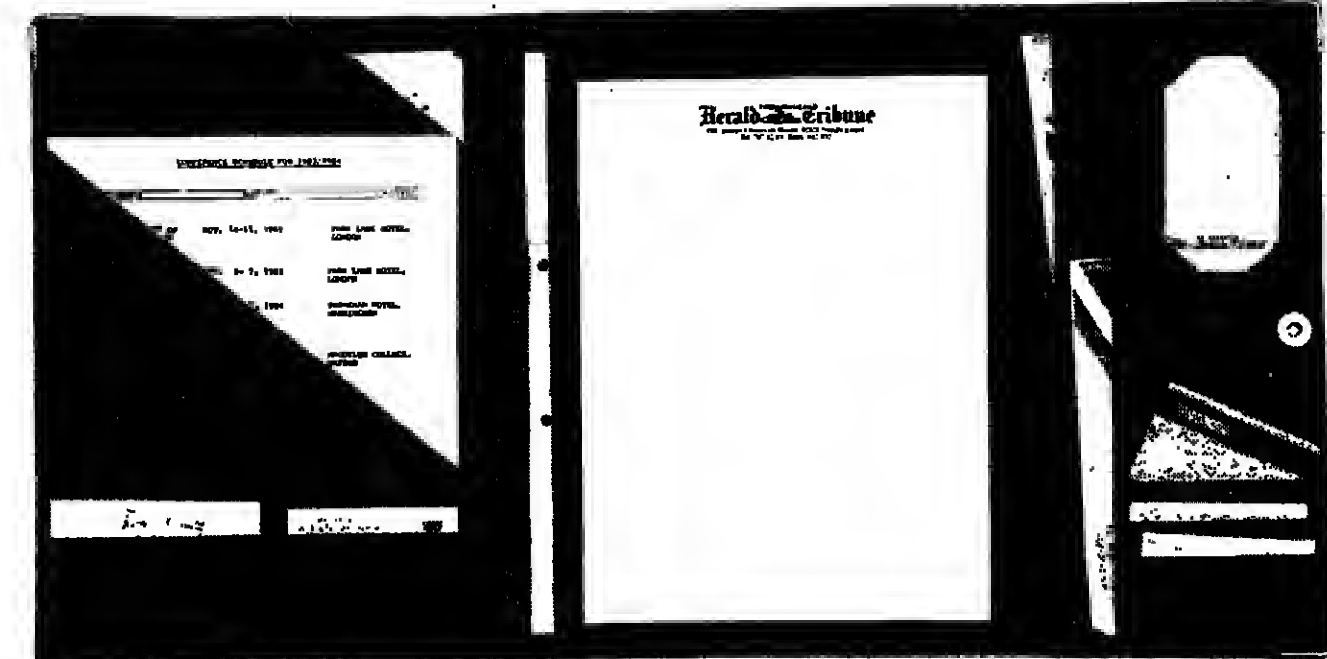
NEW YORK — Robert Massie's Pulitzer Prize-winning book "Peter the Great" is being made into a 10-hour miniseries for NBC, most of which will be filmed in the Soviet Union. The film, starring Maximilian Schell, will be broadcast during the 1985-86 season.

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INSIGHTS

Oratory Returns to the Campaign Trail

By William Safire
New York Times Service

THE halls are alive with the sound of oratory. Democrats assembled in convention last month hurled a challenge to right-wing Republicans in the form of five goose-bumping speeches that shivered the presidential timbers. Now we are on the eve of the republican reply, to come in the form of a convention oratory that will thunder out of Dallas, singing rhetoric is reborn.

Only 23 years ago, oratory was in. John F. Kennedy asked not what he could do for the spoken word but what oratory could do for him; his inaugural address, following on the heels of a surprisingly strong farewell to the military-industrial complex by Dwight D. Eisenhower, Kennedy made listeners and viewers feel like audiences.

In the mid-1960s, speechmaking fell relatively faint. Lyndon B. Johnson's Texas twang got in the way. Hubert H. Humphrey was a real orator, as he lost to Richard M. Nixon, whose resonant voice lacked the dramatic intensity to deliver what he called "the lift of a driving dream."

Audiences hungry for the red meat of passionate partisanship were fed for a time by Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, but with his disgrace as a whole field of speechifying underwent a decline. Presidents Gerald R. Ford and Jimmy Carter were poor orators; besides, we were told, old-fashioned oratory had no place in the cool electronic wavelengths. No longer would states-

men thrill us in the crowd; the crowd had become a family in a living room and, instead of messages being thundered, thoughts were to be shared.

During the early years of the Reagan presidency, the low-key, talk-to-the-person-not-the-people technique — conscious anti-oratory — reached its zenith. President Ronald Reagan, trained as an actor, was able to add a new dimension to anti-oratory: When he spoke to a large audience, such as a joint session of Congress, he used it as a mere applause-line responder.

The live audience in the hall was the satellite off which he bounced his message; his target was rarely the people in the hall, it was prominently the camera and the person at home. The crowd was there for the camera to pan, but it was a stage set disguising the pitch to the tube.

Then came the Democratic National Convention of 1984. Suddenly, five big chunks of oratory boomed out into a hall filled with placard-waving people. This was Oratory. This was drama on its feet.

This was short sentences. This was give-and-take with the people in the hall. This was rock-sock-can use of rhythm and rhyme. This was a series of words starting off with the same letter.

To those who say the Oratory that made this nation great is out of date, washed up, finished, I say "phooey!"

The speeches made at the Democratic convention last month married some good speech-

making to the return of interest in speaking at a moment when the red lights on top of television cameras were on. Not all the speeches there met as good oratory. But five are worth study.

First, a grading of The Big Five on oratorical style and rhetorical technique, not on content:

GOVERNOR Mario M. Cuomo of New York, the keynote, delivered a stunner. Remarkable use of hands and body English to control crowd reaction in delivery. Superb modulation of speed and tone, with the exception of a demagogic use of murdered nuns. Nice rejection of rhetorical devices while using them. Grade: A.

The Reverend Jesse L. Jackson delivered an emotional sermon-on-the-stump. Intensely personal content, riveting delivery after nervous start. Overuse of rhyme to make phrases, but wise use of repetition to drive home "our time has come." Big speech, could have been a great speech if length cut by half. Grade: A minus.

Senator Gary Hart of Colorado, a presidential candidate himself, put forward a speech to be played back in four years but which was unsatisfying now; he tried to get in too many of his stump themes. Speech delivered at a constant pace and without a break in tone, making delivery monotonous.

"Nostalgia is not a program," a good shot; but old-fashioned slams at "gang of greedy polluters" and "toxic terrorists" marred the cerebral yuppie approach. Grade: B minus.

Geraldine A. Ferraro, the vice-presidential nominee, was skillful in evoking origins but banal in the "To those who say... we say" device. No dramatic modulation in delivery but no stumbling, either. Her writers could have done better in such a dramatic moment. Grade: B.

Walter F. Mondale, the presidential nominee, suffered in emotional comparison with Mr. Jackson and Ms. Ferraro and the new-face appeal of Mr. Cuomo, and deserves a "medium bello" for a verge-of-tears delivery of a solid speech. Excellent on antithesis, sloppy on parallel structure, good use of short sentences — "He won't tell you. I just did." Grade: B plus.

Will Republican speeches this week match that standard? The emotional charge of blacks and a woman candidate will be absent, and the response is rarely as good as the attack.

Although former President Ford and Vice President George Bush are not expected suddenly to bloom as orators, the didactic hawkishness of Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, the chief U.S. representative at the United Nations, might provide some diversion, and it will be interesting to see if Mr. Reagan, the master of the person-to-person technique, can adapt to the new interest in a person-to-people-in-the-hall approach.

Republican oratory tends to be more flag-waving and God-fearing than Democratic oratory, and speeches by Democrats reflect an institutional grumpiness about that. This year, however, the Democrats made a point of God, Jesus and St. Francis and of physically waving flags at the conclusion of their convention, and Republicans may try to grab the clothes of compassion that the Democrats left by the riverbank.

Let us examine the tricks of the oratorical trade to see how they were employed by the Democrats last month, occasionally sprinkling in a few examples from speeches of some of the Republicans scheduled to give the nation a quick transfusion next week.

• **Anti-rhetoric rhetoric.** "Please allow me to skip the stories and the poetry and the temptation to deal in nice but vague rhetoric," began Mr. Cuomo, staking his claim to the fed-up-with-schmalz crowd.

Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., the Tennessee Republican, likes to work that same vein, denigrating the same acid rhetoric, which befalls our domestic politics.

This exploits the anti-political resentment, treating the word "rhetoric" — once a definition of rational argument — in its newer sense of artificial eloquence or mere words.

Anti-rhetoric rhetoric is best used by the extremely skillful rhetorician or the hopelessly uninspired speaker.

• **Alliteration.** This is probably the easiest device for orators and their writers, although it was in the doghouse immediately after the Agnew era. (I was the author of "nattering nabobs of negativism," an updating of Adlai E. Stevenson's derogation of pessimists as "prophets of gloom and doom.") I also submitted "hopeless, hysterical hypochondriacs of history," but when the 4-H Clubs objected, the vice president dropped it. I now profess to scorn the technique but began this article with "ringing rhetoric is reborn."

"My constituency is the damned, disinherited, disrespected, despised," cried Mr. Jackson, deploring the "sadness, sacrifice and suffering" caused by Reaganomics. He dreamed of artists "who will convey music and message, rhythm, rhyme and reason."

Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts chimed in, praising Mr. Mondale's "courage for change," demanding a "spirit of sacrifice" and deriding the "California Coolidge," whose advisers "practice polarization politics."

Mr. Cuomo preferred "reasonableness and rationality," lest the nation be judged "into the lucky and the left-out, the royalty and the rabble."

We can look for an alliterative counter-barrage when the Republicans convene. Katherine



The Reverend Jesse L. Jackson addressing the Democratic convention.

D. Ortega, the treasurer of the United States and the convention keynote, has in previous speeches extolled "peace, prosperity and progress," hardly an original formulation. Mr. Reagan has already labeled his target pessimists as "sour souls."

• **Humble origins.** Big this year. "I watched a small man with thick calluses on both hands work 15 and 16 hours a day," Mr. Cuomo remembered. "I saw him once literally bleed from the bottoms of his feet."

THE Republicans may come back strong on humble origins. Mr. Reagan's father was dismissed from his job during the Depression, and his mother went to work in a dress shop for \$14 a week. Ms. Ortega, youngest of nine children, tells audiences that her father was a blacksmith who augmented his income "by nailing together custom-made coffins."

Of all current leading orators, Mr. Kennedy is the one most handicapped in using this theme.

• **Rhyme.** This can be effective on occasion in making a point, but it is a dangerous device because it often borders on the banal. "They lavish tax breaks on the greedy and deny bread to the needy," said Mr. Kennedy, and it didn't fly. That was reminiscent of Mr. Nixon's "the wealthiest nation in the world should be the healthiest nation in the world." It looked all right on paper as an applause line, but it didn't sing.

Mr. Jackson overdid rhyme, telling young America, "Don't put dope in your veins, put hope in your brains" and "Jesus said that we should not be judged by the bark we wear but by the fruit we bear."

• **Repetition.** Called anaphora in rhetoric classes, it can work well if the orator knows just how far to take it. Mr. Jackson's "our time has

come," repeated three times, was just right. Mr. Hart began five sentences with "At issue in this campaign" and I thought it began to wear. Ms. Ferraro used "It isn't right" to begin six sentences, and what began as a strongly moral series took on a whining quality about the fifth time.

• **Metaphor.** This gives a knockout figure to speech. "The Republicans believe the wagon train will not make it to the frontier," said Mr. Cuomo, "unless some of our old, some of our young and some of our weak are left behind by the side of the trail." He rode that wagon through his speech, recalling the image gracefully at the end with a wagon but with words like "pioneer" and "new frontier."

PERHAPS Ms. Ortega will use her personal metaphor: "In the next year or so," she told a recent graduating class, "my signature will appear on \$60 billion of U.S. currency. More important to me, however, is the signature that appears on my life — the strong, proud, assertive handwriting of a loving father and mother." Some will call it cornball; I think that metaphor works because her claim to fame is the signature on the money we carry.

• **Invocation.** This, or some reference to the Deity, is traditional in American political rhetoric. Mr. Cuomo concluded with, "for the love of this great nation, for the family of America" — based on Lincoln's "family of man" — "for the love of God." Mr. Jackson, as might be expected of a minister, spoke most easily and personally of God, as in "God is not finished with me yet." These lessons in current rhetoric could go on, but as Hubert Humphrey used to say when he talked too long, "I'm like the little boy who said he knew how to spell 'banana' but didn't know when to stop."



Hubert H. Humphrey gesturing during a 1976 convention speech.

Life Among the Arabs: A U.S. Woman's Odyssey

By Judith Miller
New York Times Service

CAIRO — I am not married. But the first thing I acquired on my journalistic assignment in the Middle East a year ago as a husband and two children.

My husband, George, lives in Washington. I ever got around to naming my mythical children, or even deciding their sex. It wasn't necessary. Neither was George. But he was useful. He eliminated questions and saved time. In Arab environment, most women my age are married. The men I interviewed would invariably inquire about my marital status. At first, I could reply honestly, assuming that the conversation would return promptly to economics, politics, culture, visas or whatever else was the subject of the interview. It didn't.

When I said I wasn't married, perplexity, even arm, would cross the official's face. Why aren't I married? Who was responsible for me? As I sat out here in the Middle East all alone? Isn't I lonely? Half the interview would be used on questions that I, like most Americans, considered intensely private.

So one day George appeared. He had a salary effect. No one was curious, oddly enough, out why George was in Washington. What united was his presumed existence. I was not alone. George was there, back home, responsible for me.

Gradually, I came to understand the phenomenon. In Arab societies, especially for women, a family is the center of life. That a woman could be deprived of its embrace and protection was profoundly disturbing.

SAFEGUARDED by my fictitious husband, I have traveled throughout the Middle East, visiting 14 countries, discovering cultural variety that belies the myth of one finable Arab world. There have been magical moments: sailing up the Nile alongside eternity; reeking riding at dawn beside the petrified smoky of the pyramids; wandering through Damascus bazaar, assailed by an array of sells, colors, sounds; walking through an Arab eat on a Friday, the Moslem holy day, and nothing hundreds of men fall on their knees I bow toward Mecca. There also have been moments of intense sadness, fury, utter frustration and real fear. But almost all of these have been related to my job rather than to my sex.

My experience in the Middle East has been mixed. Some Arab officials have been condescending, but so have been some American officials in Washington. Hotel rooms can be dreadfully lonely. But they were just as lonely in the United States. On balance, being a Western woman in the Arab Middle East has been an advantage professionally. Because I am a Westerner, the official and informal rules that restrict freedom of Arab women have seldom applied to me. As a woman, however, I have been only aware of these rules.

At times, profiting from the virtual invisibility of women in some Arab countries, I was able gain access to places, such as Saudi prisons, in which my male colleagues would almost certainly have been barred. In a few countries, I've been granted interviews simply as something of a curiosity.

The most difficult part of my assignment was Lebanon. But that had little to do with my being a woman. Mainly, it had to do with the people, male or female, react to the experience of war.

I went to Lebanon last October to help report the bombing of the U.S. Marine Corps headquarters in Beirut. I had not been there three weeks, and to see what was left of that once-active city was a shock.

I was even less prepared for the scene at the mine compound. Vaguely nauseated, I wandered through the ruins of the huge building — mechanical stew of twisted pieces of metal, shreds of concrete, shards of glass, bits of chairs, bunks, clothes, all crumbled and

lopsy-turvy. Rescue workers were still digging through the rubble with shovels, picks and finally their hands to remove bodies, sometimes in pieces.

Those reporters who had been in Beirut the longest seemed least moved by the spectacle. As my stay lengthened, I began to understand why. It was impossible for most people to live through endless days of senseless violence without becoming inured. After three weeks, I, too, found myself getting used to it.

The dulling of one's senses to Lebanon's misery and violence was enough to make one want to flee. But it was only after covering the evacuation of Christians from the Lebanese mountain town of Deir el Qamar that I decided to leave.

Inga Lippman, a freelance photographer in Beirut, had interested me in the story. Nothing was black and white, right or wrong, she explained. Yes, about 25,000 Christians who had sought refuge in Deir el Qamar from the fighting in their villages had been encircled for two months by Druze soldiers and prevented from leaving. But there were Christian Phalangist militiamen in their midst, and the Druze refused to lift the siege unless the Phalangists surrendered.

Inga picked me up in a taxi at 4 A.M. It was still dark and Inga explained that we would never get through the checkpoints manned by Lebanon's competing militias unless we arrived well before 6 A.M., when civilian movement usually resumed. For almost two hours we chatted and drank tea at one checkpoint after another — Christian sentries, Lebanese Army, Druze militia.

At the final station, less than a mile from Deir el Qamar, logic, charm, threats, pleas and feminine wiles all failed. There was sniper fire along the road, the Druze captain said. Besides, he added, if reporters were permitted to drive to the town, they might have their tires shot out, and their cars would block the road and impede the evacuation.

"Then we'll wait," I said. Inga stared at me in disbelief.

"If you please," the captain grinned, certain that two women would never take the dare.

Inga grabbed her camera bag and muttered a curse. We headed for the town. I heard the first bullet about 200 yards (about 180 meters) down the road. After the fourth shot, I realized I had made a mistake. I told Inga we were turning back.

"The hell we are," she snapped. "You got us into this. It's just as dangerous to turn back now. Besides, we're the only reporters here. You're going into that town if I have to drag you. So shut up and count the rifle shots. You'll need it for the story."

There were 17. It was a good story, but it wasn't worth the risk. After writing the account that evening, I thought about why I had exposed Inga and myself to unnecessary danger.

THE bullet-dodging, get-the-story impulse was as contagious among the reporters assigned to Lebanon as the violence and hatred spread by the war itself. I was as susceptible as anyone else, perhaps more so. Maybe my being a woman had made a difference after all. I had been so frightened most of the time in Lebanon that I was determined to prove I could be as fearless, as macho, as any of my peers.

I left Lebanon soon after the Deir el Qamar evacuation. I still keep a valid Lebanese visa in my passport, just in case, but I have not returned.

Saudi Arabia is the only country in the Middle East in which my being a woman restricted my activities as a reporter. But what seemed like a disadvantage turned out to provide me with insights that otherwise would never have come my way.

I had first visited Saudi Arabia in 1976. In Egypt, Jordan and Syria, the business suit is standard attire, and Cadillacs and Camels are rare. But the kingdom of Saudi Arabia is more



A street in Saudi Arabia, where the only women seen in public are shrouded in their black abayas.

in the older popular image of the "Arab world." Men still wear flowing white robes and head-dresses. Cadillacs abound; so do Mercedes-Benzes, Porsches, BMWs — even Camels, which can be seen walking beside superhighways and skyscrapers built by petrodollars.

In 1976, I had admired what the Saudis were attempting: to compress a century of economic development into one or two decades. Last October, I was able to admire much of what Saudi Arabia had accomplished. Yes, there had been waste and corruption, but now there were roads, schools, hospitals, industries, businesses, impressive architecture and green trees where there had been only desert 10 years before. But sophisticated Saudi confirmed what I soon sensed: that their hopes of social development alongside the economic gains had been disappointed.

"We have not been lucky," a government minister confided. The Iranian revolution of 1979 had put Saudi Arabia, traditional guardian of the most sacred shrines of Islam, on the religious defensive. Social retrenchment had been further encouraged by the 1979 attack on the Grand Mosque in the holy city of Mecca by a group of Islamic fundamentalists, who contended that the kingdom's rulers had veered from the Prophet Mohammed's path. The reaction has borne down most strongly on women.

Initially, I thought I would not be affected by the intensified restrictions on Saudi women. My Saudi hosts were warm and hospitable; almost every interview I requested was granted. Old friends, like Hisham Nadir, the official responsible for Jubail and Yanbu, the kingdom's new industrial centers, invited me to lunch at their homes, where we had spirited debates about development, movies and Islam, just as during my previous visit.

Yet, try as they might, my Saudi friends could not arrange to exempt me from the barriers affecting their women. When I toured the Jubail industrial complex at Hisham's invitation, I could not enter the administration building because women were not permitted inside a male workplace. Nor was I allowed to swim in the Hyatt Regency Hotel's pool in Riyadh at any time of the day or night. A man might want to use it.

The longer I stayed in the kingdom, the more uneasy I became. I finally identified the source of the malaise. I missed seeing women on a regular basis. There were none in my hotel, none in the ministries, few in the streets. The officials I interviewed were men; so were all the employees at the hotels. The only women to be seen in public were shrouded figures covered from head to toe in abayas, the traditional black cloaks.

ONE night during my second week in Saudi Arabia, I gave my driver the night off but decided on the spur of the moment to attend an exhibit by an American artist. There were no taxis at the hotel, so I took the bus. Getting on the vehicle, I prepared to make my way to the rear where, I had been told, women sat.

The driver abruptly stopped the bus and started shouting at me in Arabic: "Leave! Leave! Get off!" Men in the front leaped to their feet and joined in the chorus. A man threw his handkerchief at me, so I could cover my face. Slowly I realized the reason for the pandemonium. Women not only rode in the rear of the bus, they used a rear entrance. Dazed, I descended and retreated to the proper door.

In the back of the bus, I found only one other woman, covered in her abaya. She smiled shyly as I sat down. Since the back section was completely sealed off from the front by a thick wooden door extending from floor to roof, she had not seen the commotion, but she must have heard it. I sat there quietly for a few moments, rattled and humiliated, as close to tears as I had been in a long while.

Noticing that I was sweating in the tiny, stuffy compartment, she offered me a handkerchief. In excellent English, she said: "You know, we are very lucky to have this bus. The religious ministry wanted to keep us off them entirely." That, she added, would have been catastrophic for her: Her father and husband were dead, and this bus was the only means of transportation she could afford to get to her job at a girls' school, one of the few jobs that Saudi women can legally hold. "You get used to it," she said.

Among the most ardent defenders of this type of segregation are Saudi women, especially

young women, many of whom have been influenced by Islamic fundamentalism. "There are not enough feminists here to form even a small volleyball team," a Western diplomat said.

Mixing of the sexes outside of the home was "un-Islamic," one young woman declared. Islamic law provided women with far more rights, especially economic rights, than the United States or other Western societies, she went on. Women were never abandoned in Arab society, as in the West. The family would support them. If all else failed, the government would.

At a women's charitable society, a young sociologist trained at Indiana University offered another defense: If the Saudi ruling family pushed harder against the kingdom's cultural and religious norms, the society would be torn apart. She acknowledged that she missed much of the freedom she had enjoyed in the United States, but she was a Saudi first, a woman second. And, like many Saudis, she resented Westerners who looked down on her country as backward.

NOWHERE else in the Gulf states did I encounter problems quite like the ones that beset me in Saudi Arabia. In Kuwait, a conservative but far more dynamic and relaxed society, male Kuwaiti friends took me to their *diwanis*, the all-male evening gatherings that are the center of political and social life outside of the family.

In Cairo, I have made good friends among Egyptians and, through them, have come to admire much about Egyptian culture and Arab traditions — the two not always synonymous. Business commitments in Egypt take second place to the home. No Egyptian company would think of asking an Egyptian for the kind of sacrifices in family life that American corporations routinely demand.

I have also come to take the safety and security of Arab societies for granted. On one hand, I cannot jog down the streets in shorts; it is simply unacceptable. On the other hand, there is virtually no chance of being mugged, robbed, raped or murdered.

Egypt is a deeply conservative society, and class divisions are strong. I cannot pretend to have had much contact with the peasants. For

women of this class, life has changed little in thousands of years. They move swiftly from childhood to motherhood, many — even to this day — undergoing the clitoridectomy that is meant to keep them from confusing the pleasure of sex with its goal: progeny as an economic and social asset.

In the Egypt I do know, I move in circles of Savile Row suits. Social life revolves around dinner parties at peoples' homes. At such dinners, the conversation flits among three languages — French, English and Arabic. My accent in French is appallingly Middle Eastern and I often miss the point of the jokes in Arabic. But my friends are always ready with explanations.

The warmth of friendships in Egypt has helped sustain me in my daily battles with the infuriating bureaucracy, the maddening traffic, the noise, the dirt, the pollution, the inefficiencies and the frustrations that all reporters face in Arab countries. So has Egyptian humor, which includes the ability to laugh at oneself.

Early one recent Sunday — a day the Egyptians take off from work, in addition to Friday — my car would not start, as usual, and I had to take a taxi. Abdul, the driver, was dressed in jeans and a small leather jacket, and had decked out his taxi in Middle East chic. A forest of plastic petunias spread out over the dashboard. The plastic seats were covered in fake red fur. A miniature Barbie doll hung from the rearview mirror. My driver careened through plazas and narrow winding alleys, dodging boys on bicycles and donkey-drawn delivery vans.

Abdul, behind his mirrored sunglasses, howled with glee. He put on some disco cassette tapes.

"You American?" he inquired.

"Yes," I clutched the back seat for support. "Good. I like American. You like disco? You like to dance?"

Oh, boy. After a year in Egypt, it had finally happened. Someone was about to try to pick me up. I quickly trotted out husband George and my two children.

Abdul paused. With a shrug and a large smile, he broadened his vision. "That's O.K., Mrs. American," he said. "We can all go. Even if you're married, you can still like to dance."

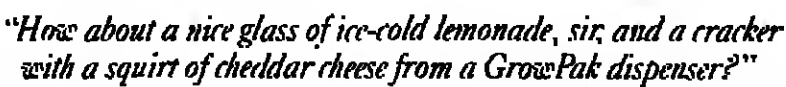
	Vol.	High	Low	Close	Ch'ge
Wynn & Co.	5312	28 1/2	27 1/2	28 1/2	+1
Int'l Bus.	2550	17 1/2	17 1/2	17 1/2	0
Amihm	2460	13 1/2	13 1/2	13 1/2	+1/8
Amstar	2430	13 1/2	13 1/2	13 1/2	+1/8
DataPac	1939	27 1/2	27 1/2	27 1/2	0
Amstar	1879	21 1/2	21 1/2	21 1/2	0
TIC	1859	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	0
Wm. Pitt	1850	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	0
Michigan	1327	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	0
Wm. Pitt	1254	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 1/2	0
Vermilion	1254	8 1/2	8 1/2	8 1/2	0
Crisco	960	16 1/2	16 1/2	16 1/2	0
Verizon	900	16 1/2	16 1/2	16 1/2	0


High	Low	Close	Ch'ge
207.87	207.54	207.76	+2.24

United Press International Although federal funds rates traded at a h

The Federal Reserve's Open Market met during the day and there was no indication the agency had changed its policy.

US Air Group gained 1% to 29% and Piedmont Aviation 1% to 35%. Several analysts have recommended the regional carriers. Among the member airlines, AMR Corp. gained 1% to 28, Delta 3% to 34, Northwest 1/2 to 38% and UAL Inc. 1% to 39%.

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INTERNATIONAL MANAGER

Executive Survival Camps
Seek to Build Confidence

By SHERRY BUCHANAN
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Executive survival camps obviously use tough methods to drill participants. One is the "eating-a-raw" approach to building participants' self-confidence through overcoming fear. "Most men and some women need some form of apparent danger, it gives you a high and does you good," said Rodney Gordon, a London-based architect who has played several survival games in Britain. The game is a recent J.S. import from Britain.

There are outdoor activities in which fear is generated by having to perform a difficult physical task, such as at the Executive Adventure School in Scotland. Executives who show up at the week-long Leadership Trust course in Symonds Yat in Wales are asked to choose the outdoor activity that they fear most. Scuba-diving is a favorite for those executives who can't swim and rock climbing is a narrow spiky rock formation overlooking the Wye is a natural fear for executives who suffer from fear of heights.

Operation Raleigh, a leadership program aimed at younger employees to be started by several British companies in November, has planned a 36-hour initiation course of outdoor physical challenges. David King, chairman of British National Life Insurance Co., one of the companies sponsoring the project, called the initiation program "36 hours of unmitigated hell." If a candidate makes it through that, he or she gets to engage in such tasks as canal digging.

Most leadership-training programs claim to achieve team building. And recently, many are emphasizing participatory management.

"The way Leadership Trust is set up is to force the leader of a project to draw the best out of his team rather than to try to do the whole thing himself," said Derek Martin, head of training at Eastman Kodak Co. in London.

Companies that encourage their managers to go to Leadership Trust include Shell International Petroleum Co. and Security Express, a London-based security firm. Even some business schools are including such projects in their advanced-management courses.

"Instead of reading about it, they got to get out there and do it," said Tex Smiley, a faculty member at the International Management Institute in Geneva, who devised a practical case study for such schools.

EXECUTIVES participating in the eight-week advanced-management course at the institute are given ropes and planks to build a prototype structure that moves radioactively ash. The prize for the winning team is a big contract at the end. The teams have to build the structure across the Rhone River, have it inspected, tear it down, bring it back and build it back up in a certain time limit.

"At one point a helicopter service allows management to join the operational team," said Mr. Smiley. "Management usually charges down on the operational team, which can disrupt things completely and lead to total confusion."

In Leadership Trust's profit-and-loss project, participants are split into a company's various functions — senior management, production-quality control, distribution, etc. The goal is to get as much colored dye as possible into three "profit tanks" in the middle of the obstacle course. But each group, to test its ingenuity, is only given partial directions for getting to the tanks.

As in a real corporation, communications between divisions are restricted, and they can't see each other. There, too, the result is often chaos. They get all mixed-up. Invariably, there is a low-level guy that has a vital bit of information but nobody will listen to him," said John Eaton, the executive-course director at Leadership Trust.

The theory behind participating in real-life case studies is to teach managers how to build, and work with, an effective team that will achieve what they want. In each project there is a right way and a wrong way of doing things according to one's particular set of human resources. "Some people say it's a bunch of nonsense," said Mr. Smiley. "It certainly isn't the end all and be all of management education."

Citroën
Predicts
Accord

Unions to Discuss
Layoff Proposal

By Reuters

PARIS — Citroën expects union agreement Wednesday on a controversial program of layoffs and retraining, despite possible resistance from the powerful, Communist-led General Confederation of Labor, or CGT, the company said Tuesday.

Citroën's announcement of the layoff plans in May touched off a series of sometimes violent strikes and factory occupations in the Paris region. Last week the company offered laid-off workers 10 months of retraining at 70 percent of their current wages. It wants to lay off about 2,000 workers as part of a plan to cut 6,000 jobs from its work force of 43,000.

The proposals come as the French automobile industry, with heavy losses and a shrinking European market share, faces large-scale job reductions in a bid to improve competitiveness.

Similar measures to streamline the French coal, steel and ship-building industries have also prompted widespread worker protests over the past year, some of them leading to violence.

Workers' representatives were to meet Citroën management in a formal session Wednesday to discuss the company's offer of retraining.

The CGT, which maintains that no layoffs are necessary, said Tuesday that it would not discuss the proposal in detail until the annual August vacation is over. One CGT spokesman said the union would not accept the plan unless workers were guaranteed jobs after retraining.

Citroën, which is part of the privately held Peugeot SA group, has not made it clear whether retraining would be offered to those already laid off, nor whether only those who have been retrained would be laid off.

Jacques Calvet, chairman of Automobiles Peugeot and Automobiles Citroën, has said workers undergoing retraining would have their contracts suspended but not broken.

The reaction of other unions involved in the negotiations with Citroën has been mainly favorable, although the Socialist-led French Democratic Labor Confederation, known as the CFDT, insists that any restructuring should include a reduction in the working week.

A Citroën spokeswoman said Tuesday: "In view of the positive reaction Citroën has had to the retraining proposals, I think an accord should be reached tomorrow even if the CGT refuses to participate."

Nigeria Reluctant to Learn Austerity

Military Rulers
Try to Deal With
Economic Woes

By Clifford D. May
New York Times Service

ABUJA, Nigeria — The highway to this unfinished city, designated as Nigeria's capital of the future, ends abruptly. Street lights have yet to be installed in the red earth alongside the road. Past the highway, half-built apartment blocks, office buildings and hotels rise among hills that are still grazed by chalk-white cattle driven by Fulani herdsmen.

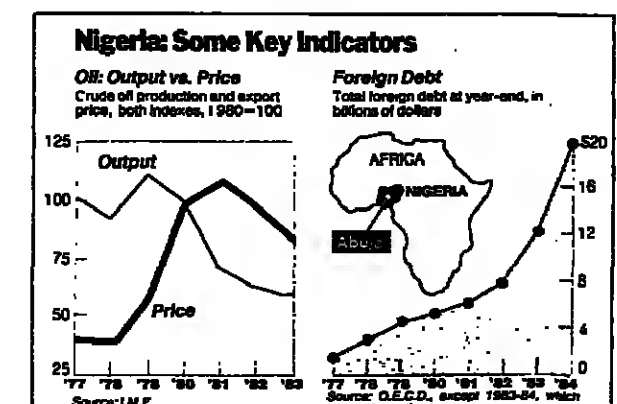
The federal military government that came to power in a coup last New Year's Eve has not abandoned Abuja, but neither does it have the means to proceed as planned.

That represents the nation's economic problems. It is unable to march briskly forward toward development on the one hand, but it is reluctant to retreat to an era of slow growth and diminished expectations on the other.

The economic problems are formidable. The external debt is now estimated at more than \$20 billion. By 1986-87, its debt service ratio — the proportion of export earnings devoted to servicing the debt — could be as high as 50 percent.

The government recently succeeded in reaching an agreement to reschedule \$3.5 billion in unsecured short-term trade debts on favorable terms, including a grace period of two and a half years, and an interest rate only 1 percentage point over the London interbank offered rate.

But secured creditors have so far refused a similar arrangement, insisting that Nigeria first prove that it truly means to put its house in order by negotiating



The New York Times

a loan from the International Monetary Fund.

That does not appear to be imminent. Talks with the IMF came to a halt in July following Nigeria's repeated refusals to accept three conditions: sharp devaluation of the naira (Nigeria's vastly overvalued currency), trade liberalization and a curb on domestic oil subsidies.

So far, Nigeria has not renewed on any of its financial obligations. It has been coming up with the money by spending only about \$400 million a month on imports, which is why there are shortages of raw materials, spare parts and commodities. It had also been making deals, according to oil industry sources, by pumping a little more oil than the 1.3 million barrel-a-day quota allotted it as a member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

According to these sources, Nigeria was averaging 1.5 million barrels a day in the first quarter of the year. In the second quarter, the average reportedly went down to 1.26 million barrels a day. But at the OPEC summit in Vienna in July, Nigeria received permission to boost production to 1.4 million barrels

a day in August and to 1.45 million in September.

Since then, Nigeria's oil minister, Tam David-West, has indicated that Nigeria will continue to produce at the higher levels after September as well.

But many of those who follow the oil market, noting that demand has been softening, predict that Nigeria will not easily find buyers for that extra oil, at least not at the OPEC price.

Meanwhile, few would disagree that life has become harder for most of Nigeria's estimated 100 million citizens since the military takeover. Consumer prices are now 90 percent above what they were in January, when the soldiers entered the marketplaces, forcing merchants to open their warehouses and sell their stocks for little or no profit.

Prices are also 10 percent higher than they were in December, the final month of civilian rule. A chicken now costs about 10 naira, roughly \$13 at the official rate of exchange. A single egg costs about 50 cents. The per capita gross national product of Nigeria, Africa's biggest oil producer, still averages less than \$800 a year. (That compares with \$1,400 in 1970.)

(Continued on Page 11, Col. 5)

Financial Said
To Pay Premium
For Its Deposits

By Reuters

WASHINGTON — Financial Corp. of America, battling to stay liquid, is paying well above market rates for its deposits and has removed early-withdrawal penalties on some instruments, thrift executives and analysts said Tuesday.

FCA said last week it had borrowed \$800 million from the Federal Home Loan Bank of San Francisco and the sources said further borrowings since then push the total well over \$1 billion.

Analysts also said Financial Corp. salesmen are telling institutional clients that the company will make an announcement after financial markets closed Tuesday, including the repayment of a portion of its Federal Home Loan Bank borrowings.

The Federal Home Loan Bank Board in Washington refused to comment on the issue.

Gary Fishman, a spokesman for Financial, said, "To the best of my knowledge there is no announcement planned," but he did not completely rule one out.

Asked about reports of an announcement, a Financial spokesman, Steve Hoenig, said, "Yes, that's supposed to be the case," adding that holders of Financial's certificates of deposit holders were asking for reassurances.

Thrift industry executives reported that Financial is selling a so-called flex-deposit, 90-day CD which can be withdrawn in seven days without any penalty. The rate on these instruments is over 13 percent, almost 1½ percentage points above comparable market rates.

Financial's problems stem largely from the mismatched financing of fixed-rate long-term assets with short-term floating-rate liabilities. Because interest rates have risen this year, its margins have been squeezed as a result.

Last week it restated earnings to reflect a \$107.5-million loss and said it suffered a \$362 million deposit outflow during July, when institutional deposits fell \$1.4 billion. A large proportion of Financial's deposits is maturing in the current quarter.

Market sources said they believe federal regulators may be preparing a rescue package for the troubled holding company, to whose thrift subsidiary, American Savings & Loan Association, the Federal Home Loan Bank loans were made.

The Federal Home Loan Bank Board's chairman, Edwin Gray, apparently cut short a holiday in Europe to cope with any possible crisis, the sources said.

But the board would not even say if Mr. Gray had returned. "I'm not saying anything that might be connected with FCA," a Federal Home Loan Bank Board spokesman said.

The sources said a rescue operation could include federal guarantees for deposits in Financial, but one source said, "I think you'll see something similar to Continental."

The rescue last month of Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Co. included the infusion of \$4.5 billion over three years.

Earlier Tuesday, Standard & Poor's Corp. placed Financial's debt on its Creditwatch list, citing increased funding pressure at the holding company's American Savings & Loan Association. Financial (Continued on Page 11, Col. 6)

Brooke Bond Tapes Its Defense Against Tate

By Bob Hagerty
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — "Remarkably dull," Sir John Cuckney, chairman of Brooke Bond Group PLC, observed two weeks ago after studying the formal document describing Tate & Lyle PLC's bid to take over his company.

In his riposte Tuesday, Sir John made sure he was anything but dull. The tea and timber company mailed 35,000 shareholders cassette tape recordings featuring the chairman telling them why he thought the sugar company's \$320-million (\$420-million) bid was "totally inadequate."

With this stunt, Brooke joins a growing number of British companies trying new ways to arouse the attention of their shareholders.

Earlier this month, Standard Telephones & Cables PLC rushed out a videocassette trumpeting the ideas behind its plan to merge with the British computer maker ICL PLC. In July, a British advertising company sent out its annual report in the form of a videocassette.

When Trafalgar House PLC made its abortive bid for Peninsula & Oriental Steam Navigation Co. last summer, it hired an advertising agency to liven up the offer document with colorful graphs and chatty language.

A Brooke spokesman said his company was the first to send out its defense document with a cassette tape. Twelve years ago, the spokesman said, Debenhams, a British department store chain, used a 45 rpm record to urge its shareholders to reject a hostile takeover bid. Whether shareholders were impressed is not recorded, but he failed.

To make the five-minute tape, Brooke brought in Richard Baker, a prominent British television and radio journalist, to lob several questions at Sir John. The idea, a spokesman said, was to present Brooke's basic arguments for the benefit of smaller shareholders. Let it be accused of wasting their money, Brooke said the project cost only £16,000, about the cost of a

full-page advertisement in a major British newspaper.

Along with the tape, Brooke sent out the traditional defense document, estimating that its pretax profit for the year that ended June 30 was more than £70 million, up at least 45 percent from the previous year. Brooke promised to increase its dividend for the year to 4.75 pence a share from 4.10 pence.

Sir John saved his best line for the end of the tape: "Incidentally," he said, "fewer and fewer people are now taking sugar in their tea."

Tate was not particularly amused. The defense said James Kerr Muir, Tate's finance director, was "beautifully packaged but rather empty."

The uncertainty is reflected in the price of oil even on a daily basis. Oil Buyers' Guide and Platt's Oilgram Price Report, the two major domestic oil price reporting services, seldom agree on prices for each day.

On Aug. 9, for example, the discrepancy over North Sea oil from the Brent field was 80 cents a barrel, \$27.70 (Platt's) versus \$28.50 (Oil Buyers'). That's a big difference when dealing with tens of thousands of barrels. Similarly, the two services disagreed by 0.25 cent a gallon as to the price of wholesale regular gasoline at New York Harbor.

"There are just too many pieces and most everything is kept secret," said Melvin World, who puts together the crude oil prices for Platt's. "Bits and pieces leak out. People spend the entire day piecing together rumors."

At the heart of such issues are the

Trade Picture
Better in France

By Reuters

PARIS — France's adjusted trade deficit fell sharply in July, to \$95 million from \$367.5 million, from \$225 million in June, the Foreign Trade Ministry said Tuesday.

The adjusted deficit for the first seven months of 1984 was 23.04 billion francs, against 39.69 billion in the 1983 period. Also Tuesday, the Finance Ministry, issuing revised figures, said France had an unadjusted second-quarter surplus in the current account — a broad measure that includes nonmerchandise items such as services — of 700 million francs.

CURRENCY RATES

Local interbank rates on Aug. 21, excluding fees.

Official fixings for Amsterdam, Brussels, Milan, Paris. New York rates at 4 P.M. EDT.

	\$	£	D.M.	F.F.	Y.F.	Sw.	S.F.	Yen
Amsterdam	3.255	4.773	112.025	36.74	0.1824	5.09	125.15	124.25
Brussels	36.23	76.48	20.175	6.575	2.552	17.05	24.19	54.85
Milan	2.015	3.78	32.55	1.077	8.6	4.951	117.00	1.195
Paris	1.312	—	3.766	1.1313	2.54119	4.275	76.455	3.1624
Switzerland	1.78380	2.56480	418.32	29.180	—	39.28	26.449	74.180
Y.F.	1.205	2.972	8.28	1.768.00	3.303	55.362	2.475	26.25
Y.F.	8.685	11.635	30.57	—	4.9613	27.23	15.395	36.72
Y.F.	241.75	37.46	82.37	27.23	12.57	74.37	43.44	100.25
Y.F.	2.478	3.125	82.40	27.15	0.1349	73.51	43.32	0.9961
Y.F.	6.779	9.999	2.254	4.875	1.2634	2.529	45.284	1.065
Y.F.	1.017	0.7449	1.9151	0.00709	1.8157	3.7103	2.444	24.289

Interest Rates

Commercial bank (1) Amounts needed to buy one pound (2) Amounts needed to buy one dollar (3) Not quoted; N.A.: not available.

Belgian franc	58.825	2.3875	Kawati dirham	4.2592	0.0012	S. Korean won	870.20
Canadian \$	1.3918	0.6269	Motzy, rimpli	2.3325	0.0017	Swan, sealer	166.64
Danish mark	10.5125	0.7326	Noro. krona	1.3725	0.197	Sov. rouble	0.2555
Finnish mark	6.0575	0.5525	Phil. peso	18.6025	0.0256	Taiwan \$	39.83
Greek drachma	115.505	0.0066	Port. escudo	150.481	0.0025	Thai baht	25.975
Hong Kong \$	7.8425	0.2622	Saudi riyal	3.3305	0.2723	U.A.R. dinham	3.6723

sterling: 1.2272 Irish £

Commercial franc (b) Amounts needed to buy one pound (c) Amounts needed to buy one dollar (c) \$ of 100 (c) Units of 1,000 (c) Units of 10,000

Company Earnings

Revenue and profits, in millions, pre-tax local currencies unless otherwise indicated

	1984	1983	1982
Britain			
Revenue	1,004	912	960
Net Inc.	312	347	347
Per Share	29.5	32.7	32.7
Dividend	1.04	1.04	1.04
*1982 net includes gains of \$25 million in assets and \$10 million from income tax adjustments			
Stand. Chart. Bk			
Revenue	1984	1983	
Per Share	11.2	11.4	
Dividend	0.92	0.81	
Per Share			
South Africa			
Revenue	1984	1983	1982
Per Share	7084	7084	7084
Dividend	242	242	242
Per Share			
Seco Industries			
Revenue	1984	1983	1982
Per Share	7084	7084	7084
Dividend	242	242	242
Per Share			

[illegible]

274	10	Univ. of	1.04	4.7	8	9	22	22	22
271	15	Uleat	92	5.3	0	120	174	174	174
272	24	Unocal	1.00	2.6	0	4732	38	37	38
273	45	Unilever	2.50	4	9	1204	554	534	54
274	21	USLIFE	.96	3.6	7	312	264	254	26
275	21	USLIFE	.96	3.6	7	312	264	254	26

[illegible][illegible]

91 ^a	7 ^b	Woff J pl	1.86	12.5	-	120 ^c	8	0	8
31 ^d	21 ^e	Worne S	.88	4.0	0	118 ^f	23 ^g	21 ^h	—
29 ⁱ	17	WernCm	.50 ^j	-	-	204 ^k	21 ^l	20 ^m	+ 1 ⁿ
35 ^o	26 ^p	Worm	1.40	4.4	13	20 ^r	21 ^s	112 ^t	3 ^v + 1 ^w

329a	20 ¹ / ₂	WashGd	3.12	9.6	6	21	32 ¹ / ₂	32 ¹ / ₂	32 ¹ / ₂	- 1
31 ¹ / ₂	15 ¹ / ₂	WashNat	1.08	6.3	11	1380	20 ¹ / ₂	20 ¹ / ₂	20 ¹ / ₂	+ 1
59 ¹ / ₂	30 ¹ / ₂	WashN of	2.50	6.6			38	38	38	+ 1 1/2
21 ¹ / ₂	16	WshWvt	2.48	14.4	6	141	17 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	17 ¹ / ₂	- 1
92 ¹ / ₂	27 ¹ / ₂	WshWt	.80	2.0	15	1039	40 ¹ / ₂	37 ¹ / ₂	40 ¹ / ₂	+ 3

[illegible]

NYSE Highs-Lows	Aug. 21
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NEW NIGN2 52			
AMD	AlliedProd	AmFamily	AmGn Cp 2 64p
AmerItch n	AmNpI Ros a	AmericUn	BarFincl
Bowler n	Bowler wi	Carnam	CashnFds
CokeGncl			

[illegible]

19

100

BUSINESS ROUNDUP

Hoechst Profit Stauffer Restates Fiscal '84 Results Rose by 84% In First Half

FRANKFURT — Hoechst AG said Tuesday that first-half group pretax profit rose 84 percent and revenue climbed 14 percent despite the effect of sales of the engineering industry strike in West Germany this summer, the company said.

Hoechst said that profit for the half rose to 1.48 billion Deutsche marks (\$514.4 million) from 804 million DM a year earlier. Sales rose to 20.7 billion DM from 18.14 billion DM.

The company said the stronger first-half trend has continued in recent weeks.

Hoechst said domestic sales slipped slightly in the second quarter from the first three months, but this was more than compensated for by a rise in second-quarter foreign business. Above-average gains in the volume of sales were registered in North and Latin America.

Particularly strong was business in pesticides, fibers and plastics.

Hoechst said the strike in the West German engineering industry, which lasted for most of May and June, led to a loss of revenue, particularly at its 66-percent owned Messer Griesheim GmbH works.

Product lines most affected by the strike were paints and resins for the auto industry and items for the printing industry, which was also on strike in a related campaign for the 35-hour workweek.

WESTPORT, Connecticut — Stauffer Chemical Corp. said Tuesday that it has restated its sales and earnings for the fiscal third quarter and nine months of the current year to reflect a change in certain accounting policies for 1982 and 1983.

As reported, Stauffer agreed with the Securities and Exchange Commission earlier this month to change certain accounting policies for 1982 and 1983 and to restate its financial statements for those years.

For the third quarter, ended June

30, sales were \$376 million, up 29 percent from a year earlier. Profit fell 6.8 percent to \$11 million, or 24 cents a share.

Profit from operations in the quarter more than doubled to \$41.9 million.

Previously, Stauffer had announced third-quarter sales of \$380.9 million and profit of \$14.1 million, or 32 cents a share.

Revised sales for the fiscal nine months were \$1.159 billion, up 12 percent from a year earlier. Profit rose 132 percent to \$41.7 million, or 91 cents a share. Operating profit increased 63 percent to \$128.8 million.

Stauffer previously reported nine-month sales of \$1.184 billion and earnings of \$50.9 million, or \$1.13 a share.

Stauffer said there were no extraordinary or unusual items affecting the current fiscal fourth quarter, but in the prior year's quarter an extraordinary gain of \$8.7 million and a tax credit contributed \$14.4 million after taxes, or 33 cents a share.

Stauffer said it expects that the earnings restatement will result only in a redistribution of quarterly results and will not affect earnings for the year ending Sept. 30.

Hard Times Seen for Japanese Drug Firms

TOKYO — Japan's pharmaceutical industry, which grew rapidly in the 1970s, now faces a difficult period, mainly because of measures in cut government spending on health care, Mitsui Bank Ltd. said Tuesday in an economic report.

Overall medical spending in Japan rose only 6.4 percent in the year that ended in March 1982, to 12.87 trillion yen (\$53.62 billion), compared with average annual rises of 16.8 percent in the preceding decade, the report said. Output of medicines rose an average of 13 percent a year in value terms in the decade through the end of March 1981, but at only 5 percent a year in the following three years, the report added.

In calendar 1983, the sales value of medicines produced by the Japanese pharmaceutical industry was 4

trillion yen, up only 1.3 percent from a year earlier. Mitsui Bank said. It said this was due to government cuts averaging 18.6 percent in June 1981 in the regulated price of medicines to be paid by medical insurance plans.

The government made further cuts in the standard prices averaging 4.9 percent in January 1983 and 16.6 percent in March 1984. The Diet, Japan's parliament, recently passed a bill under which members of public health insurance plans would pay 10 percent of medical bills rather than 800 yen for each treatment. This will considerably reduce the use of medical facilities and demand for medical products, the bank's report said.

The problems that pharmaceutical companies face may be alleviated by development of new products, the report said. Marketing of

new drugs, however, has been made more difficult by tougher official tests, it said. The average new drug is now put on sale after about 15 years of research costing more than 4 billion yen, the bank said.

Rationalization of the industry is expected, it said. It added that Japanese companies relied heavily on imported raw materials and that it would take years before they increased the proportion of exports from the level of about 3.5 percent in 1982.

Emerald Air Stops Flights

AUSTIN, Texas — Emerald Air, citing lack of progress in its efforts to restructure long-term debt, stopped operating Tuesday and filed for protection from its creditors under Chapter 11 of the Federal Bankruptcy Code.

Nigeria Tries To Adapt to Austerity

(Continued from Page 9)

\$6,239 for Gabon, another West African oil producer.

In many parts of the country, salt, sugar, milk, coffee, tea, rice, cooking oil and other commodities are unavailable at any price.

Industry is lagging as factories close or slow to a fraction of capacity due to lack of raw materials and spare parts. About a million workers have been laid off for economic and political reasons since the beginning of the year. Inflation is estimated to be running anywhere between 30 percent and 90 percent of the work force.

Many Western analysts here fear that these hardships presage a prolonged period of deterioration. But there is at least a minority of economists, bankers and diplomats who think that Nigeria needs to experience some shrinking pains, to weed out the weak and inefficient industries and businesses, force large segments of the underemployed urban population back to the land, and encourage the substitution of local foods, such as yams and cassava, for expensive imports like bread and rice.

"In the West African village I lived in as a Peace Corps volunteer," one Western banker said, "people ate chicken only on special occasions. A poultry industry built on imported feeds is a luxury item that maybe a poor country, which Nigeria doesn't like to admit it is, can't afford."

Nigeria's difficulties can be traced to the period between 1973 and 1981, when the price of oil rose from \$2 a barrel to \$34, bringing in \$23.4 billion in the peak year of 1980.

Largely because the country lacked the bureaucratic sophistication to manage or even keep track of all that money, much of it was allocated in consumer imports, prestige or wasteful projects, political regional and ethnic patronage and the personal enrichment of those sitting in the right offices.

The overnight millionaires not only consumed conspicuously in Nigeria, they also invested discretely abroad, adding to a steady outward flow of capital.

The military government has yet to articulate precise economic plans and priorities. But a day of reckoning may be drawing near. Economists say a recent, unpublished report by Gamaliet Onosode, chairman of the Projects Review Committee, is likely to present the government with some hard choices, such as what to do about Abuja, widely viewed as an extravagance the country can no longer afford.

BUSINESS PEOPLE

Kuwait Bank Names Ward In Melbourne

Kuwait Asia Bank EC of Bahrain says it plans to open a representative office in Melbourne early next month.

The Melbourne office is a further step in developing Kuwait Asia's presence in the Asia-Pacific area. It has a branch in Singapore, a 49.9-percent holding in Australasia Investment Co. in Auckland, and equity holdings in South Korea and Hong Kong.

Robert A. Ward has been appointed representative in the Melbourne office. Mr. Ward is a former Australian diplomat and member of the Australian Trade Commissioner Service. More recently he was attached to the London office of the New South Wales government as an investment and trade adviser before returning to Australia to pursue private business interests. Mr. Ward was the representative in Sydney of Banque Européenne de Crédit de Bruxelles from 1981 until its merger in late 1983 with a London-based merchant bank.

Separately, Christopher J. August, previously assistant general manager for credit and marketing, has been promoted to the new post of deputy general manager of Kuwait Asia Bank.

Banque Nationale de Paris has become the first French bank to open a branch in New Delhi, BNP, which has two branches in Bombay and two in Calcutta, named Gerard Andreoli chief manager in New Delhi and Gerard Raffaud branch manager.

Lloyds Bank International Ltd. said A.R. Ashton had become

manager of its Bahrain branch. Mr. Ashton moves to Bahrain from Brussels, where he was manager of Lloyds Bank International (Belgium) SA. He succeeds C.J. Mitchell, who was transferred to the bank's London head office as regional manager. Middle East and Africa division, succeeding R.C. Seamer. Mr. Seamer has been appointed principal manager, Egypt. He will take up his post in Cairo in mid-October.

Chemical Bank International, the London merchant banking arm of New York-based Chemical Bank, has appointed Gyles P. Cooper executive director, corporate finance, with responsibility for Britain and Northern Europe. Mr. Cooper, whose post with Chemical is a new one, was a corporate finance and banking director with Aitken Hume Holdings PLC, a financial services company.

Citibank's country corporate officer for South Korea for the past four years, Thomas J. Charters, has been named head of the New York bank's corporate bank in Brazil, which is based in São Paulo and is Citibank's largest corporate bank outside the United States.

Sumitomo Trust & Banking Co. has appointed Kazuo Watanabe head of its Bahrain representative office. He takes over from Takeo Mitomi, who has been transferred to the bank's Tokyo headquarters, where he will serve in the international treasury department. Mr. Watanabe moves to Bahrain from Tokyo.

Trans World Airlines said Jerry Nichols, previously vice president of the international division, based in London, would return to New York to the new post of vice president, airport operations. Succeeding him in London will be Peter T. McHugh, formerly vice president, passenger marketing, in New York. The appointments are part of a



Walter D. Scott has been named to the board of Grand Metropolitan PLC as a group managing director for U.S. activities. He succeeds Clifford J. Smith, who retires Aug. 31. Mr. Scott will be chairman of GrandMet USA Inc.

recently announced major realignment of the New York-based carrier's top management.

ASEA AB appointed Arun Thurgarajan managing director of ASEA Ltd. in Bombay. He previously was managing director of Flakt India in Calcutta and succeeds Tommie Bergman, who is taking up another post in the Swedish electrical and electronic engineering group.

Toys R Us (UK) Ltd., the British unit of the U.S. toy-retailing chain, has appointed Philip J. Foster general merchandising director.

—BRENDA HAGGERTY in London

COMPANY NOTES

Asahi Chemical Industry Co. said it has licensed China National Chemical Construction Corp. to make and market in China a process using an ion exchange membrane for caustic soda production. Asahi will provide technical assistance and membranes, it said.

Drexel Burnham Lambert Inc. said it has agreed to take over the Los Angeles and Chicago retail offices of Becker Paribas Inc. Drexel said it was continuing talks with Becker's retail sales personnel in New York about a possible union. The three offices are part of a five-office retail operation that is not included in Merrill Lynch's acquisition of Becker Paribas.

Citibank, after taking over Girod Trust Co., a bank in Puerto Rico that had been declared insolvent, opened its three offices Monday as new Citibank branches.

Cooper Laboratories Inc. told the Securities and Exchange Commission that it had bought 350,000, or 11.1 percent, of Frigintronics Inc.'s shares outstanding. According to the filing, Cooper Labs, a drug company, met June 6 with Frigintronics to discuss a possible merger or leveraged buyout. Frigintronics, which makes eye-care products, rejected the proposed combination, the filing said.

Deere & Co. reported net income for the first nine months of fiscal 1984 of \$70.8 million, a turnaround from the net loss of \$34.7 million posted for the like period of 1983. Income for the third quarter of the fiscal year was \$29.4 million, up from \$5.1 million in third quarter of fiscal 1983. It said its third-quarter earnings included \$28.5 million in favorable income tax adjustments.

Fort Motor Co. said it is recalling about 4,200 heavy trucks produced from 1981-1984 to correct a problem with a steering-shaft assembly that could disconnect and cause the driver to lose control.

Fortune Systems Corp., a maker of multi-user office computers, said that it may acquire North Star Computer Inc. Under the proposal, Fortune would acquire all of North Star's shares outstanding for four million Fortune common shares, with a current value of \$13.5 million.

Hongkong Tin PLC said its shares were suspended from trading on the London Stock Exchange at 650 pence (\$8.52) a share following suspensions on the Kuala Lumpur and Singapore stock exchanges. The company said it plans to reincorporate in Malaysia, with

the new company to be called Hongkong Tin Corp. (Malaysia) Bhd., which would acquire Hongkong Tin PLC.

MCA Inc., the parent company of Universal Studios, said it has amended its by-laws to stop a rumored takeover attempt by a Las Vegas casino owner, Steve Wynn, head of the Golden Nugget casino, was reported to have bought 5 percent of MCA shares.

McGraw-Hill Inc. and Monchik-Webber Corp. have agreed to merge, the companies said. McGraw said it will pay \$15 a share for all shares outstanding of Monchik-Webber under the proposal, which has been approved by both boards. The acquisition has a value of \$55.3 million. McGraw is a publisher and Monchik-Webber provides computer products and services.

This announcement appears as a matter of record only.



U.S. \$500,000,000

Commercial Paper Notes

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- | | |
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New York Branch | Bank of Ireland |
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London Branch | Banque Nationale de Paris |
| Bayerische Landesbank Girozentrale | Bayerische Vereinsbank AG
(Union Bank of Bavaria)
(New York Branch) |
| Berliner Handels- und Frankfurter Bank | Creditanstalt-Bankverein |
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August, 1984

OIL & MONEY: STRATEGIES FOR THE EIGHTIES.

THE FIFTH ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE/ OIL DAILY CONFERENCE LONDON, OCTOBER 18-19, 1984

Conditions in the world oil market have never been more complex. Unstable political situations, uncertain price trends and megatrends have all led to radical shifts in the oil market.

In view of the current situation, this year's International Herald Tribune/Oil Daily conference on the theme "Oil and Money: Strategies for the Eighties", has never been more timely.

OCTOBER 18

LEARNING TO LIVE WITH MARKET FORCES: THE FORMULATION OF SOUND PRICING POLICY FOR REFINED PRODUCTS AND LPG.

H.E. Dr. Abdulhadi H. Taher, Governor, Petroleum and Gas OUTLOOK THROUGH TO THE YEAR 2000: CHANGING PERSPECTIVES.

Moderator: Herman T. Franssen, Chief Economist, International Energy Agency
Michael Clegg, Manager, Gas, British Petroleum Co. plc
John W. Davies, General Manager, Economics Staff, Chevron Corporation

OPENING ADDRESS - AFTERNOON SESSION
Dr. Armand Hammer, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Occidental Petroleum Corporation
MAJOR OIL COMPANIES' STRATEGIES

Paul B. Hicks, President, Texaco, Europe
Sir Archie Lamb, Executive Director and Adviser on International Relations, British plc
Henry de Ruiter, Managing Director, Royal Dutch Shell Group
Baron Didrik Sney, Executive Director, Petrofina S.A.
Nader H. Sultan, President, Kuwait Petroleum Int'l Ltd.

CONFERENCE REGISTRATION FORM

Please enroll the following participant for the Oil & Money conference to be held October 18 and 19, 1984.

☐ Check enclosed ☐ Please invoice.

Surname _____
First Name _____
Position _____
Company _____
Address _____
City/Country _____
Telephone _____ Telex _____
Company activity _____

Over twenty international energy experts will discuss the key issues and assess future trends to help you to determine your business strategies for the mid 1980's and answer the questions you encounter daily.

Senior executives in energy, finance and related fields wishing to register for the conference should return the conference registration form below without delay.

OCTOBER 19

THE OUTLOOK FOR NIGERIA'S OIL POLICY
Professor Tam David-West, Minister of Energy and Petroleum, Nigeria.

ARAMCO AND THE FUTURE
Ali I. Maimi, President, Arabian American Oil Company.

THE ROLE OF THE INVESTMENT HOUSE IN OIL COMPANY MERGERS
Frank G. Zarba, Partner, Lazard Frères & Co. Former Director, U.S. Federal Energy Agency.

THE FINANCING OF MERGERS AND VENTURES
Carol Ferguson, Oil Analyst, Wood, Mackenzie & Co.
William S. Lear, SVP, and Worldwide Head of Energy and Minerals Group, The First National Bank of Chicago

Yves Ravasi, Vice President, Energy, The World Bank
UNITED STATES ENERGY POLICY
Donald Model, United States Secretary of Energy.

THE FUTURES AND SPOT MARKETS: A NEW RANGE OF OPTIONS
Moderator: Nicholas G. Voûte, Oil Consultant, London and The Hague

Ernst Rosengard Bisschop, Vice President, Europe, Bache Securities Inc.
Jacob Schellner, Managing Director, Bulk Oil
John Trevel, President, Energy Group, Bear, Stearns & Co.

REGISTRATION INFORMATION

The participation fee \$495. Fees are payable in advance of the conference and will be returned in full for all cancellations postmarked on or before October 4.

Please return the registration form to: International Herald Tribune, Conference Office, 181 avenue Charles-de-Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly Cedex, France. Or telephone (33 1) 747 1686 or telex 612632F.

CONFERENCE LOCATION

Royal Garden Hotel, Kensington High Street, London W8 4PT, England. Telephone: (44 1) 937 8000. Telex: 263151. Contact: Sue Robinson.

A block of rooms has been reserved for conference participants at preferential rates. For further details, please contact the hotel.

Pan Am is the official carrier for the conference.

